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Modernism in the Bible
Mysticism of the Psalms
Two Articles on Behaviorism
Cotton Mather
John Bunyan of Bedford
Theology of Crisis—II
The Mystery of Marriage
The Beauty of Jesus

(FULL CONTENTS INSIDE)

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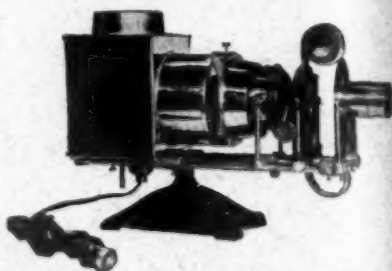
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WHO'S WHO IN THE REVIEW

THE frontispiece is a portrait of JOHN BUNYAN of whom 1928 is the fourth centenary. It is used by the courtesy of the Fleming H. Revell Company.

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JOHN BUNYAN OF BEDFORD



METHODIST REVIEW

JULY, 1928

MODERNISM IN THE BIBLE

JAMES H. SNOWDEN

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE word "modernism" has acquired in some quarters a sinister sound and sense because opponents have imputed to it and associated with it false meanings and implications which do not belong to it in its etymology and origin, and in its usage by those who hold its principle. It means in its Latin root the present time or up to date and is a good word that expresses its idea as no other word does so well. As the total reality of the universe must be unitary and harmonious, an underlying necessary assumption of all science and philosophy, modernism expresses the idea that all our knowledge of reality must cohere into unity and harmony. It may be technically defined as the principle and process of progressively unifying our growing knowledge and experience. Modernism is therefore not a system of doctrines, but a method of testing and adjusting our beliefs into harmony. It is branded by some writers as "an alien system of unbelief," "a deadly enemy of Christian faith," and "another religion," but these are the partisan poisoned labels of opponents, and "if the devil," as Dean Inge says, "invented partisan labels—and I think he must have done so—it was one of the cleverest tricks he ever played."

A modernist, then, is one who inherits the knowledge of the past as one may inherit an ancient castle, and he proceeds, not to destroy it, but to modernize it by filling up its moat, removing its drawbridge, installing sanitary plumbing and heating and lighting apparatus, renovating its entire interior, replacing its broken and outworn furniture, replenishing its out-of-date library, introducing all modern improvements and conveniences, and thus transforming it into a modern residence. Or he keeps moving out of the old and narrow shell into new and more spacious and beautiful chambers which grew out of the old and yet remain in connection with the old and afford ampler and richer life, as in the "Chambered

Nautilus," which may be taken as a description of modernism as perfect as it is beautiful. Fundamentalists are making war on this principle and process and one of their chief weapons is the misrepresentation of its principle by confusing and identifying it with some form of infidelity. But the principle is inwrought in the very constitution of the human mind and is inevitable in its operations. Fundamentalists themselves use the principle, especially when they do not know they are using it, just as the character in the French play was surprised to discover that he had been speaking prose all his life.

I

The central fortress of fundamentalists is the Bible, or more accurately their interpretation of the Bible, and they build this interpretation as a bulwark and barrier against the advance of modernism. However, it may be to some minds a surprising and startling fact to find that the Bible itself is a modernistic book from start to finish. If this be true, it captures the central fortress of fundamentalism and turns its guns against itself. The very names "Old Testament" and "New Testament" are significant, as they show that the Bible is a progressive book, leaving at its critical stages old things behind and going forward into new, or it progressively brings its revelation and knowledge up to date.

This process begins on the very first page of the Bible. It took an old Semitic story of creation, which was very ancient and widespread in the Semitic world, and brought it up to date by clearing and cleansing it of pagan mythology and polytheism and rewriting it in the theistic thought and terms of its day. How did the polytheistic disorderly myth of Babylon become the monotheistic orderly cosmology of Genesis? Did not the passage of Hebrew faith and thought from polytheism to monotheism grow out of the advancing knowledge of the unity of the world? The Hebrews were themselves in their early history polytheists, but their growing knowledge of the orderly course of the world as disclosed to them by their observation and experience of it dethroned the polytheistic gods and enthroned their Jehovah as Lord of heaven and earth. It was their modern knowledge, modern in their day, that rewrote the Babylonian into the Hebrew cosmology. The first chapter of Genesis in its day was a tremendous and audacious piece of modernism. We may well suppose that there were conservatives and fundamentalists in that day, certainly among the Babylonians if not among the Jews, who opposed and branded Genesis as "new theology" and "agnostic modernism." But the new was in advance of the old and has enabled Genesis to hold its place in our Bible to this day. The same principle of modernistic interpretation

applies to the Hebrew story of the flood, and it runs through the whole Old Testament.

Moses the modernist! Let us not be alarmed or surprised at the designation, for according to our definition that is just what he was. He was adjusting old faith into accordance with the new knowledge of his day. The Ten Commandments did not originate in principle with him, for the world was then very old and could not have survived without these elementary laws of life. We can dig up the roots and germs of them down in Egypt and over in Babylon: Moses cleared them of much pagan clay and planted them in a more congenial soil. The metal of these commandments had been in use in a crude state as a means of social barter: Moses minted them into current coin and put them in general and permanent circulation. The sharp die and authoritative form may be his, but their substance is the raw material of universal human experience. The same fact is true of the Mosaic legislation. There were necessarily elaborate systems of law in Egypt and Babylonia, and every civilization must secrete its own bony skeleton of law. The Hebrews inherited ancient laws, but they adapted them to their own stage of civilizations and religious knowledge and experience, and thus modernized them to fit their conditions and needs.

The Hebrew conception of God advanced through progressive stages, rising from lower to higher levels as their experience of the divine presence and character grew clearer and purer. There is also a rising scale of morals as they advanced from slavery to a sense of the worth and rights of the individual and from polygamy to monogamy. The later prophets were tremendous modernists as they applied the social gospel to the crying evils of their time and taught the spiritual religion of doing justly and loving kindness and walking humbly with their God; and they were modernists in their internationalism as they swept the whole horizon of their world and preached righteousness and brotherhood and foreshadowed universal peace.

At every advancing stage the Old Testament in its day was a New Testament. It brought the old pagan faith which it inherited forward into its own larger knowledge and clearer divine revelation and thus revised it and brought it up to date. The old was never satisfied to remain old but ever felt an urge toward the new. The Old Testament was ever a forward-looking book. When it had reached the limit of its growth and its work was done it was willing to drop as a seed into the soil of the centuries that it might bring forth a New Testament. The Old was glorious, but it had a prophetic presentiment that the New would be more glorious.

II

The distinctive characteristic of the New Testament is that it is new. Old things have passed away in its pages and all things have become new. It is the child of its age and compacts into its pages all the elements of its time. One of the most striking changes in the New is that it has changed its clothes and is written in a different language from that of the Old Testament. The Hebrew has been displaced by the Greek. The immortal glory of proclaiming the new gospel in their own speech has been lost to the Jews and given to pagan Greeks. The sacred ancestral language of their fathers has been abandoned for a modern tongue. The old language was a provincial and dying speech, but the new commanded the world and on its wings the gospel could fly to the ends of the earth. The Greek Testament was in itself a long stride forward to keep up with a moving world, another tremendous piece of modernism.

Let us not be alarmed at the application of the principle of modernism to the teaching of Jesus, keeping in mind the true meaning of the word as the continual unification of progressive knowledge and experience. Will any one say that Jesus was obsolete or out of date in his teaching in his day? Obviously not. He was always up to date and ahead of his age and illustrates the principle of modernism at many points. While on the one hand he honored and used the Old Testament, yet on the other he revised it and brought it up to date. He recast all its teachings in his own forms of thought and molded it to his own purpose. Much of it did not suit him at all and he sloughed off these obsolete and incongruous materials and selected what fitted in with his own teaching. Deeper and more radical still, he did not hesitate to cut into its text and teaching and criticize it. He boldly corrected Moses. Six times he does this in the Sermon on the Mount, quoting Mosaic legislation and then saying, "But I say unto you" something different, sometimes deepening and spiritualizing the old law and sometimes flatly contradicting it. Christ contradicts Moses! There it stands plainly written in the record (Matt. 5. 22, 28, 32, 34, 39, 44). The Old was too narrow for him and he broadened it; it was too external and he turned it inward; or it belonged to a lower ethical stage and he lifted it to a higher level. Thus Jesus put himself above the old Scriptures and made them subservient to himself. As he was lord of the Sabbath, so also was he lord of the Scriptures. He modernized the Old Testament and in this sense he was a modernist.

The Pharisees were the fundamentalists of their day and carried their principle, which, like modernism, is a principle and is good and necessary in its proper place, to its extremes of absurdity. They identified

their doctrines with divine deliverances and to differ from them enraged them and consigned their opponents to outer darkness. They lacked a sense of humor which would have saved them from such absurdity by giving them a proper sense of proportion and the relative values of things. With them the smallest petty point, especially one of their own devising, was as big and important as the broadest divine commandment that undergirds the very universe. They took themselves too seriously and saw themselves in magnifying mirrors that flattered them but made them look ridiculous to others.

Jesus early encountered these Pharisees and engaged in dialectical combats with them that are among the most interesting incidents in his ministry. They were amazed that he, a despized Nazarene, should dare to differ from them and stand up against them. This was insufferable conceit and presumption and they would take a fall out of him. He delighted to play with them and keep them puzzled and mystified and wondering what he would do next. They were like Goliath in his heavy brass armor meeting David with his stone in a sling. Time and again he caught them in their own net, hoist them with their own petard. He convicted them out of their own mouths, punctured their solemn pomposity, exposed their shallow conceit and made them a laughing stock before their own followers. Jesus soon found himself entangled in this fundamentalism of the Pharisees and then in deadly antagonism with it. They tried to fasten their fundamentalism on him and quickly grew suspicious of him as they discovered to their dismay that he would not conform to it. He soon broke with them and trampled on their traditions and boldly smashed their whole system, and this was why they fell upon him in fury and sent him to his cross. Against their conservatism he opposed his liberalism and against their fundamentalism he put his modernism. On the principle of liberty he staked and lost his life.

In his teaching Jesus spiritualized the Old Testament at one stroke. With one magnificent utterance and gesture he swept off the mountain top of Zion the Temple with all its Old Testament ordinances and pageantry. He released the worship of the Father from a local habitation and cult into freedom of the spirit and let it fly from that Judean crag into the universal air of the world. His preaching was of the free and spiritual kind that could just as well be preached on a mountain side or seashore as in a splendid temple. It was as simple and understandable, as human and useful as farming and fishing. He spoke to the people in their own speech and talked in the thought-terms of his time. The people soon noticed this difference in comparison with the teaching of the Pharisees and scribes droning their dry abstract doctrines and theological incompre-

hensibilities. On one occasion they exclaimed, "What is this? A new teaching!" Jesus a teacher of new theology! This surely was modernism.

There are many specific teachings of Jesus that expressly or implicitly set forth the principle of modernism. The parables and passages in which he likened the gospel to seed sown in the ground imply growth and progress. The seed absorbs out of the soil and shower and sunshine the elements that enter into its growth and blossom and fruit. As the soil and climate are changed, so in some degree does the fruit change also. The size and texture and flavor of the fruit vary with the habitat and vary widely when the seed is transplanted to a different country or continent. The plant is also subject to cultivation and may be greatly improved in a more congenial environment and by processes of selection and better care. In fact, all our cultivated grains and fruits were wild-growing plants which were thus improved. The analogy of the gospel to seed implies that it will be subject to like changes. This fact is abundantly illustrated in the history of Christianity which has always in some degree adapted itself to the soil in which it has been planted. When its seed was sown in Greek soil it produced a Greek type of Christianity, and in Roman soil a Roman type. So has the gospel adapted itself to different habitats down through the centuries and has resulted in our various types to-day. Some are suspicious and fearful of these varying types and would like to repress them and trim them all to their own pattern as hedges are artificially trimmed, but they are as inevitable and necessary as are varieties of trees and flowers and fruits. Christianity will necessarily continue to be shaped and colored by its soil and whole habitat and thus be progressively adapted to each successive country and age. The world could not live to-day on the coarse grasses of the early geological ages, and our Christian faith could not survive in our time on the low ethics of the early books of the Old Testament or on many of the religious ideas of the first Christian century or on the superstitions of the Middle Ages or on the science of the fifteenth century. Our soil has been fertilized and enriched by all our accumulated knowledge and experience in science, literature and religion, and Christianity has become acclimated to this environment and could not grow in any other. All this is implied in the gospel viewed as seed subject to growth and environment, and this is the principle of modernism.

The same principle is illustrated from another point of view in the teaching of Jesus as to patching an old garment with new cloth and the putting of new wine in old wine-skins. The old skins grown inelastic and brittle with age cannot stand the pressure of the fermenting new wine and

will burst and spill it. Therefore, Jesus taught that they should "put new wine into fresh wine-skins." The application is plain. The new wine of Christianity should not be put in the old wine-skins of Judaism. Growing religious life must have new forms, new credal expressions, more elastic thought-terms, new molds of government and administration. New knowledge sets up a fermentation of ideas that is infectious and will spread like leaven through the whole mass of ideas and infect the entire system of thought and life. There is no stopping this process. No iron band bound around the brain and no constriction imposed upon conscience can repress the working of this yeast. Sooner or later the old container of faith will burst, a crystallized creed with crack. Twentieth-century Christianity cannot be contained in fifth- or fifteenth-century creeds and confessions. Repeatedly must our confessions of faith be reconstructed. Christianity must keep up to date and abreast of all our growing knowledge, or its forms will become obsolete and be left behind.

We are right in the midst of this process now. This fermentation is going on throughout the whole field of our modern life. Many an old wine-skin is strained to the breaking point and new ones are being formed. This is the cause and meaning of much of the unrest and theological controversy in our churches, such as that between "fundamentalism" and "modernism": the new wine is stressing and distressing the old wine-skins. This process is unavoidable and we must put up with it. Authoritative repression will not stop it, and it would be bad for Christianity if it could. And so we must be patient with it and with one another and try to pour the new wine into new wine-skins with as little trouble and loss as possible.

Jesus expressed the very principle of modernism when he said: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you into all the truth." This is a clear disclosure of endless truth to come, but the disciples were not ready for it and could not bear it yet. This recognizes the principle that truth must be a gradual revelation and not be crowded on the mind too fast. Too much light may blind the eye; too much fuel may put out the fire. All that Jesus said was only a hint of what he might have said. But had he said too much he might have paralyzed his disciples and disorganized their world. "Ye cannot bear them now" is a wise and merciful principle in the providence of God and in the teaching of Jesus. But this principle equally provides for the progressive revelation of truth through all the ages. Truth never reaches a limit but sweeps on in ever-widening curves. Jesus only began his teaching and now he is carrying it on through all the processes by which truth is dis-

covered. All fields of truth are ever filling out the things that Christ did not say to his disciples because they could not bear them then, but are being said unto us because we can or ought to bear them now. Here is room and provision for boundless new theology. Yet, of course, the new truth is always consistent with old truth and is an extension and enlargement of it: if at first they seem to differ they must be harmonized.

The very words of Jesus were germinal and expansive and like seeds were ready to grow in any soil and yield far future harvests. It is wonderful how he avoided the peril of so involving his teaching in local and temporary traditional beliefs, current science and philosophy, that would embarrass his disciples in future ages. He even kept clear mostly of Jewish apocalyptic views and hopes. On the contrary, he used terms that still have kinship with our dominant ideas and readily lend themselves to our modern interpretation and use. There is a timeless element in his teaching so that the modernism of all ages lies latent in his words. This fact preserved his teaching from the fate of falling behind the progress of knowledge and becoming obsolete.

Various writers have commented on this aspect of his teaching. Rev. Dr. S. D. McConnell, in his *Evolution of Immortality*, says that "The Gospels are biological altogether" and that "It is little less than marvelous the way in which the words of Jesus fit in with the forms of thought which are to-day current." He teaches in terms of "life," "seed," "growth," "fruit," "first the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear," and other biological and evolutionary concepts. To the same effect writes the physicist Robert A. Millikan: "The practical preaching of modern science is extraordinarily like the teaching of Jesus." And Professor Herman Harrel Horne, in his *Philosophy of Jesus*, says: "It should be added that the philosophy of Jesus contains no attack on science or on speculation, and no appreciation for the willful ignoramus or the obscurantist. It breathes the life-sustaining breath of liberty of thought and toleration of opinion. To attack it is easy, to reject it is possible, to refute it is impossible, to live by it, as multitudes have found, is inspiration, illumination and salvation, or wholeness of life." Thus Jesus not only spoke the language of his day, but he also used terms and phrases that were prophetic of coming science and philosophy and were expansive to receive and express them. This is one reason why the world has not yet caught up with him and he is a modernist in every age.

To sum up on this point, modernism in the teaching of Jesus is the principle of the progressive enlargement and unification of growing knowledge illustrated in his bringing the Old Testament up to date, revising and correcting it, spiritualizing it, giving old truths new meanings,

sowing seed which would develop through future ages, providing new wine-skins for the new wine of fermenting new knowledge, revealing truth gradually as his followers could receive it, and using germinal and pregnant words that carried in their wombs the modernism of the future. Thus while he was a conservative and fundamentalist in that he held fast to the truth and good contained in the old revelation, yet he was a liberal and modernist in that he ever made room for new truth and welcomed it and provided for its incorporation in his own revelations as their further enlargement and enrichment. Still he has for us "A new teaching!" and this is what is meant by modernism.

It need not be pointed out that this view does not impair or even touch the divinity of Christ's person or the inspiration of the Scriptures any more than does the fact that Jesus spoke our human language and accommodated himself to our human conditions of space and time. His modernism was of a piece with his humanity and leaves his divinity in full play.

III

The most fundamental and violent controversy in the history of the Christian Church occurred at its birth and start when a death-struggle was precipitated between Judaism and Christianity. The first Christians supposed that they were still Jews in religion as well as in race and worshiped Jehovah according to the ordinances of Moses. Evidently they had not thought the matter through and went on with their worship after the death of Jesus just as they did before. But soon the relation of Christianity to Judaism which at the first lay in the background was forced to the front and became the burning issue and great battle that fills much of the New Testament. This sharp break came with the preaching of Stephen, who advocated the universality of the gospel, and this cost him his life, so that he may be said to have been the first martyr of modernism in the church. The Christian Church was now confronted with the question of its relation to the Gentiles. The Judaizers were the party in the church that held that the Gentiles should be shut out, and thus they were the conservatives, whereas the liberals held that they should be let in. Peter was the pioneer in receiving them and this led to the first council in Jerusalem, where the question was brought to a debate and decision in which the liberals outvoted the conservatives and the Gentiles were admitted to the church. The same question in a different form soon emerged when the Judaizers claimed that the Gentiles must be circumcised and come in subject to the Mosaic rites. This was another attempt to fasten the old form on the new faith and again the issue was

liberty or adapting the old faith to the modernism of the day. This led to the second council at Jerusalem when this question was debated. Paul now appeared as the master modernist who had just returned from his first missionary journey among the Gentiles, and he stood for liberty with such eloquence and weight of authority that the council now voted that Gentile converts should come into the church without being burdened with the Mosaic rites. The decision of this council was embodied in a letter to the Gentile churches that has been preserved for us and is one of the most important documents in the history of Christianity. It is the Magna Charta of our right as Gentiles to share in the gospel of Christ without coming under the bondage of Mosaic law. Christianity was again saved from Jewish conservatism and sectarianism and from schism and was finally released from its Jewish swaddling clothes and set free to start out unimpeded on its world-wide march and conquest as a world religion. It is because of this epochal decision made at these councils that we are Christians to-day. Modernism saved the day for us.

IV

There are some distinctively modernistic books and elements in the New Testament that are specially significant in this connection. The Gospel according to Matthew is plainly written from a Jewish point of view to show the Jews that Christ was their Messiah and is a contribution to the struggle of the new faith to free itself from the old. Paul's letter to the Galatians is expressly written to demonstrate the right of the Gentiles to liberty in the gospel and is a trumpet blast in this battle. And the Epistle to the Hebrews is devoted to proving that the old dispensation of Moses is fulfilled and superseded by the new dispensation of Christ and that while the old was glorious the new is more glorious. These three books are thus definite contributions to the battle between conservatism and liberalism, a distinctively modernistic rendering of the gospel to bring it up to date and throw it open to both Jews and Gentiles.

There is also diffused through the New Testament an element in which the principle of modernism is implied or illustrated in the process of bringing the gospel up to date by expressing it in the thought-terms of its own time. The New Testament, being written in Greek, necessarily derived from that language something more and much more than the mere words in which it was expressed. The words of any language not only convey their primary significations but also carry with them subtle associations and suggestions and implications that cannot be divested from their express contents. When words are chosen to transmit ideas from one language to another these marginal or atmospheric implications

and overtones go along with them and mingle with the expressed ideas. The very language of the New Testament, while avowedly expressing Jewish ideas, yet colored and tintured these ideas with Greek associations. Not only the Greek language poured into the New Testament, but along with it slipped in a stream of Greek ideas and suggestions that helped to shape and color the book. Any important Greek word in it is thus more or less saturated with Greek thought and life. Not only so, but there are instances in which Greek words are deliberately adopted for the purpose of modernizing the gospel.

This introduces a large subject and only one or two illustrations of it can be given here. A notable instance is the word "Logos," translated "Word" in the opening verses of John's Gospel. This word was in use in the Greek city of Alexandria and was expressly used by the philosopher Philo, a Jewish hellenist or Grecian Jew in that city, as a designation of divine reason in action, or deity expressing itself in self-revelation or creation. Philo was a mediator between Judaism and Greek philosophy and used the word as a bridge or link binding the two together and making Judaism acceptable to the Greeks. John thus found it shaped to his use and applied it to Christ. As a word is the revelation or expression of the mind, so is Christ the Logos or glorious Word or revelation of God, or God in self-revelation and action. It is true that John put a fuller Christian meaning into the word, and yet he adopted this Greek word as a means of expressing and interpreting Christ to the readers of his day in whose language he was writing. In so doing he modernized the gospel by expressing it in modern terms. There may have been some prejudice against the use of logos, a word and idea so deeply saturated with Greek philosophy, as a name for Christ. To some of his readers it must have looked like paganizing the gospel, a dangerous form of "modernism." But John boldly used it and ran the risk of any such misinterpretation because he was writing for Greeks and the word carried the gospel into their minds and expressed for them a meaning that no other word would so well convey. There are many instances in which Greek words not only expressed but imparted fresh meaning to the gospel ideas.

Not only did Greek words, however recharged with Christian meanings, necessarily carry Greek implications into the teaching of the New Testament, but Greek principles of philosophy and theology were also incorporated in it. Paul's letters are especially tintured and colored with these foreign ideas more or less derived from or influenced by pagan philosophies and religious cults. Christianity has a native affinity with any and all truth and selects and absorbs and assimilates it from any source, and so as it went out through the world it appropriated and

transmuted Greek thought and Roman law and pagan religions; and in its march down through the centuries it has continued this process to this day. It has enormous digestive capacity and has thus grown and enriched itself through its whole history. Paul, Greek by birth and education as well as Hebrew, had a sponge-like mind to soak up both Greek and Hebrew learning and expressly taught and practiced the art of appropriating truth from any source. "For all things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours." Paul's affinity if not his acquaintance with Plato's philosophy in his doctrine of ideas as the realities of which all sensible objects are shadows, is striking, as when he says, "We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." So also traces of Seneca's stoicism are found in Paul, and he dips his pen into Greek philosophy when he says that in Christ "all things consist," or "hold together," which comes close to expressing the Greek doctrine of the divine immanence and incorporating it in Christian doctrine.

A splendid instance of the principle of modernism and of its practice is seen in Paul's attitude toward and treatment of Greek religion in his address on Mars' Hill. There he did not reject the Greek faith and did not even show disrespect to the idol in which it was embodied. On the contrary he adopted the pagan idol as the text of his Christian sermon. "Ye men of Athens," he courteously began his speech, "in all things I perceive that ye are very religious. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found an altar with this inscription, 'To an Unknown God.'" He did not deny their religion and despise its idol worship, which would have been bad psychology and at once have ended his acceptability with his audience, but he adopted it and even complimented it. He said, in effect, that it was good as far as it went. Then came his tremendous modernistic application of his text: "What, therefore, ye worship in ignorance, this set I forth unto you." He then proceeded to pour upon that poor dumb idol the light of the gospel and transformed it into a stepping-stone up into the glorious light of God as Creator and of "the Man" "that he hath raised from the dead." This was good psychology and logic and sound theology and it was nothing else than the principle of modernism in bringing old faith up into the light of new knowledge and adjusting the old and the new into broader truth and fuller life. This principle is followed by our missionaries to-day who do not begin by trying to uproot and destroy pagan faiths, but they adopt the truth in them and plant it in new Christian soil and light.

In thus tracing the presence and influence of Greek thought in the New Testament it is not meant that Greek ideas were imported bodily into Christian teaching so as to change its essential character, but only that Christianity manifested and exercised its affinity with all truth wherever found and absorbed it. Modernism does not destroy old truth or any truth, but only seeks to assimilate the old with the new.

V

We have thus seen that the current of modernism that flows through the Old Testament pours in a broadening stream through the New. The whole Bible in principle and method and spirit is a modernistic book. This fact should set forth modernism in its true principle and light and should relieve it of any suspicion and opposition that have grown up against it because of misunderstanding or misrepresentation of its real nature. Both fundamentalism and modernism are true principles and processes of religious knowledge and life. The one holds tenaciously to the foundation and root of the past, and this is necessary and good, and the other holds to present growth and fruit, and this also is necessary and good. These two types are complementary and serve as mutual spurs and checks. If either over-balanced the other the result would be disastrous to truth and goodness. Unchecked liberalism might sweep beyond the borders of soberness and sanity, and unstimulated conservatism might slow down and stop in stagnation and death. Let both walk and work together and they will be balanced into unity and harmony. There is need of mutual understanding and patience and charity. Though the fundamentalists may be grieved and think that modernism is a poisonous plant and that they are called upon to root it up, and though modernists may think that fundamentalism is a pestiferous weed, yet both should be permitted to grow together lest in pulling up the tares the wheat be rooted up also. Let both grow together until the harvest of the future sifts the truth from the error and even tares may be transformed into good grain.

The conclusion of the whole matter is that old faith and new knowledge when worked out in their logical relations are not mutually exclusive and antagonistic but are complementary and harmonious. They are equally included in the one comprehensive and unbroken circle of total truth and stream out as radiating rays from the same central splendor of God. They are consistent and constructive elements of one grand temple of worship, harmonious strains of one vast cosmic symphony and song. Faith and knowledge are by their origin and nature wedded into union, however at times they may be temporarily estranged, and what God hath joined together let not man put asunder.

MYSTICISM IN THE PSALMS¹

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Whom have I in heaven but thee?

And there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee.—Psalm 73, 25

PERHAPS the best thing about the perpetual freshness of the Hebrew Psalter is its deep communion with God. It abounds with phrases which grew out of the religious experience of the authors, phrases which caused the hearts of ancient Hebrew temple worshipers to leap up in rapture, phrases which are still echoing from life to life in this present time. "Deep calling unto deep," they are the choral responses of great congregations of peoples to the voice of God.

What is mysticism? It may be defined in various ways. There are many able works on the subject. Let us for our present purpose use the word to refer to those distinctly religious experiences where the subject believes he has immediate apprehension of the presence of the divine Reality.

There is a further quality in the higher mysticism of the Psalms which will serve often to differentiate it from less elevated states. That is the value put upon this communion for its own sake. At times what would appear as a true mysticism in the Psalter may turn out to be jubilant satisfaction at the very material things that God has given, the joy being more in the things than in the Giver. To be sure, the enraptured contemplation of the "God-intoxicated" may brighten all life and make the desert blossom as the rose. But for the practical purpose of being sure that we are dealing with true mysticism some of the time, let us just now confine our attention mostly to the Psalms where the presence of God is valued for its own sake, taking for granted the likelihood that such an experience, if found in purity, would inevitably color and glorify the rest of life.

Mysticism is intensely individual, never wholly a group action, and so its form must vary with different individuals. It will be necessary here, however, to trace the generally prevailing attitudes at their best, bearing in mind that our general outline as a whole will not fit every individual Hebrew mystic in every detail.

¹The Bible text used in this article is taken from the American Standard Version of the Revised Bible, copyright, 1901, by Thomas Nelson and Sons, and is used by permission.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE RACE

Let us take a large view first of the setting of the Hebrew Psalms in racial psychology. The psychology of racial characteristics is still in its babbling infancy, and so its testimony may be challenged. But it seems to me that we have some evidence on which we may base a provisional judgment as to innate tendencies relatively more frequent than others in the Hebrew race.

C. G. Jung² has made a helpful classification of psychological types into four groups, distinguished by the dominance of sensation or intuition or of thinking or feeling. The first two are mental types of a lower and inferior organization. The latter two are better organized. The thinking type is dominated by intellect with its function of discrimination, and so organizes all experience according to the intellect. The feeling type, which I think to be more characteristic of the Hebrews, is dominated by the emotions. The man of the feeling type makes his judgments and adjustments according to his own emotional reactions and moods. Emotional reactions and moods lead directly to action. In a high-grade individual there may be sufficient complexity and plasticity in his emotional organization so that he is well adapted to meet most situations, to understand and control them.

Some marked general characteristics of the Hebrews are such as belong to this type. This is clear in their language and in their method of argument.

Their language is one of emotion and action rather than of intellectual discrimination. The language of the emotion-action type might be expected to be especially well developed in verbs. Surely it is so in the language of the Hebrews. Here (contrary to the usual rule in Greek) the verbs are usually first in formation, and nouns are formed from the verbs. The Hebrew verb has a complexity of development that is never forgotten by him who has had to begin the language. Whereas Greek has three voices, the Hebrew has seven stems (active, passive, intensive, intensive passive, reflexive, causal, and causal passive). But as for logical particles, in which Greek is so marvelously rich, Hebrew is poor indeed, such particles as it has being largely exclamatory. As for lack of explicitness of logical relationships the variety of uses of the extremely simple constructed case is illuminating. When contrasted with the language of a strongly intellectual race, then, the language of the Hebrews shows a dominance of emotion and action.

² *Psychological Types*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1924. Condensed in R. G. Gordon's *Personality*; Harcourt, Brace; 1926, p. 182 and ff.

The Hebrew method of argument is also that of the feeling type. It is the method of feeling and analogy rather than that of formal logic. The Hebrew prophet, even as Jesus, painted a vivid picture colored with emotion, and left an unforgettable impression and often conviction with his hearers. A good story was apparently of much more worth than much logic-chopping. This evidence may go with that of language to suggest a provisional classification that may help us to understand other things about these people.

We might expect a dominance of feeling or emotion in their religious as well as other experiences. Given something such as religious exaltation which would harmonize the meanings of life, they could surrender themselves to it with as certain a conviction as the intellectual would have in a harmonious and satisfying intellectual view. For the conviction of certainty comes where there is no feeling or reason standing in the way, no contradiction of emotion or logic. And just this lack of contradiction in the presence of a vivid immediate experience is probably the psychological explanation of the "noetic quality" of the mystical consciousness, that certainty of knowing apart from intellectual processes which William James spoke of.

It would be interesting, if we had time, to trace the growth of emotional mysticism in Hebrew religious history. The ancient sacrificial feasts and the early prophetic possession by Jehovah would give us undeveloped stages. The development of the prophetic mysticism into such things as Isaiah's experience in the temple (Isa. 6) and Jeremiah's truly personal and individual relation to God had brought it by the time of most of the Psalms to a much higher plane. The Psalter represents this mysticism in the hymnal of the people in general.

THE MYSTICISM EXPRESSED IN THE PSALTER

The expressions of religious devotion in the Psalter are among the most noble and appealing in any language. The editorial work of public choice in generations of worshipers selected the fittest to express what the people responded to as well as what the authors felt. These expressions harmonize the emotions in the great meanings of life in communion with God. Let us consider some of these classic experiences.

1. *The Desire for God*

Psychologists to-day are skeptical about the existence of any special religious instinct, as such. It seems to be possible to understand religion without it. But the Hebrew Psalms indicate a real basis for religion in the instinctive life. The very organic forces of bodily desires and impulses

are sublimated into the longing for the Most High. Hunger and thirst and the longing of the flesh are of the same kind as the impulse to seek Him. As a thirsty man in a desert seeks water (63. 1), as the hart pants after brooks of living water (42. 1, 2), as a watchman looks for the morning, so the Psalmists seek God. The satisfaction of his presence is as marrow and fatness (63. 7).

This is all the more clear if we get the full force of the word we translate "soul." This word *nephesh* is used in the Old Testament for all phases of the instinctive life. As J. W. Povah³ points out, it is really "appetite" or "desire" as well as "soul." Povah gives a list of references which clearly show it being used in the Old Testament to denote the forces of hunger, sex, self-preservation, ambition, acquisitive instinct, parental instinct, friendship, and repulsion. But in the Psalmists we may well translate it "soul," for the instinctive drive of life without losing any of its power has become soul, as it pants for God.

My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of Jehovah;
My heart and my flesh cry out unto the living God.
Yea, the sparrow hath found her a house,
And the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young,
Even thine altars, O Jehovah of hosts,
My King, and my God.
Blessed are they that dwell in thy house:
They will be still praising thee. (84. 2-4.)

There is an affinity between the very force that impels the bird untaught to build its nest and care for its young and the force that makes the Psalmists long for the temple of God. The sixty-third Psalm has it clearly in the eighth verse: "My soul followeth hard after thee."

Fear also, even the fear of God's own anger, makes them flee to God as a refuge. Psalm 107 is a symphonic poem, in which thirsty men in the desert, prisoners in bonds, sinners sick unto death, and sailors tossing in the deep all contribute to the refrain:

Then they cry unto Jehovah in their trouble,
And he bringeth them out of their distresses.—(Vs. 28.)

Again in the forty-sixth Psalm (vss. 1, 2, and 10):

God is our refuge and strength,
A very present help in trouble.
Therefore will we not fear, though the earth do change,
And though the mountains be shaken into the heart of the seas.
Be still and know that I am God.

³ *The New Psychology and the Hebrew Prophets*. London: Longmans, 1925. List of references, p. 69 and f.

2. *The Stilling of the Soul*

The last phrase quoted might also be taken as a text for a very important process in the cultivation of religion. We may call it the Stilling of the Soul. In the Psalm above this stilling is because of fear and awe toward the might of God, as in Psalm 61. 2, 4:

From the end of the earth will I call unto thee, when my heart is overwhelmed.

I will take refuge in the covert of thy wings.

But this stilling may also often be undertaken deliberately as a means of the cultivation of the soul. It is not easy to enter into profound meditation or ecstatic contemplation of God on a crowded city street corner, while being pushed and jostled by traffic. For Elijah, God was not in earthquake, wind or fire, but in the still, small voice. Jesus advised, "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thine inner chamber, and having shut thy door, pray to thy Father who is in secret" (Matt. 6. 6).

There are two complementary processes in this stilling of the soul. One is the concentration of attention, shutting out all thoughts but those connected with God, except perhaps as they are reviewed in the light of his presence. This is the stilling of the clamor of the world in the soul. The world may beat upon the ear-drums unnoticed; the soul is engaged in other business.

My soul, wait thou in silence for God only;
For my expectation is from him. (62. 5.)

The silence of the night the Psalmists find helps this process (119. 148; 63. 5-8), and the gleam of his handiwork the stars brings solemn thoughts of man's place in his universe (Psa. 8). What a lesson there is in this verse 20 from the thirty-first Psalm for the modern world always hustling to nervous breakdown:

In the covert of thy presence wilt thou hide them from the plottings of man:
Thou wilt keep them secretly in a pavilion from the strife of tongues.

Or in 91. 1-2:

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High
Shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

When the soul full of its desire for God has thus quieted the call of the world, let it quiet itself. Let its attention remain on God, but not on its own striving or its own wish for God. Oftentimes it is only when striving has ceased that the soul is able to organize its powers freely to apprehend God. Now that other things are shut out, let the soul surrender

itself to possession by God, and by his will. So will it find peace. Psalm 123 suggests the attitude:

Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their master,
As the eyes of a maid unto the hand of her mistress;
So our eyes look unto Jehovah our God,
Until he have mercy upon us. (Vs. 2.)

More beautiful yet is the figure of humble and trusting surrender in that short Psalm 131:

Jehovah, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty;
Neither do I exercise myself in great matters,
Or in things too wonderful for me.
Surely I have stilled and quieted my soul;
Like a weaned child with his mother,
Like a weaned child is my soul within me.
O Israel, hope in Jehovah
From this time forth and for evermore.

3. *Summum Bonum*

At last in a few Psalms, all else has fallen away, and the soul and God stand alone, "sun, moon, and stars forgot," in solitary fellowship. And other things are not only forgotten; they are no longer valued. As for time, a day with Jehovah is better than a thousand ordinary days (84. 10). As for food for the belly and children to leave one's trashy treasure to, these are enough for some poor souls, but

As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness;
I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with beholding thy form.

In several places in the Psalter the harmonious composition of the emotions in this devotion seems to suggest the peace of home, where all meanings are gathered up:

And I shall dwell in the house of Jehovah for ever.
(23. 6. See also 90. 1f. 91. 9. 61. 4, 7.)

It may be noted as we should expect from the racial psychology and from the fact that the Psalms are poetic hymns for a public worship service, that when this experience is shown at its highest in the Psalter, there is little argument as to the existence of God or the possibility of communing with him. It is true that there is one great problem running through the Psalter almost from beginning to end, the problem of evil as seen in the suffering of the pious and the prosperity of the wicked. But this question is approached not so much as a problem for speculation, but rather as a practical problem of the organization of emotions and activity around a faith that men might live by. Its solution is not a new philos-

ophy in logic, but a new realization of value. Under the hardest pressure of experience the Psalmist finally moved on to a new faith, not necessarily that goodness and prosperity must ultimately meet, but that spiritual prosperity itself is indestructible and unassailable, that fellowship with God is its own reward and the supreme good. However valid this faith may be from the rational standpoint, it was arrived at, not by the consistency of an argument in formal logic, but by harmonies in feelings, experiences, and actions. It represents an emotional judgment. From such harmony without dissenting discord come certainty and peace. When God is loved, nothing else matters. Faith then can conquer anything that life may bring. The climax of this religious development of the Psalter is in Psalm 73, verses 25 and 26:

Whom have I in heaven *but thee?*
And there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee.
My flesh and my heart faileth;
But God is the strength of my heart and my portion forever.

4. Communion, Not Union

The mysticism of the Hebrews differs radically from some other well-known types in that its end is not absorption in the Infinite, with the loss of personal identity, but a greater emphasis rather on the worth of that individual personality and its work in the world. Probably the development of the thought of Jehovah as a God of history favored this view. A God with a definite historical personality working in particular events of time does not make a good candidate for the all-absorbing Infinite where all distinctions are engulfed in Oneness. Furthermore, if we are right in our classification of the Hebrews as an active type we are not surprised that their religion affirms the value of the feeling and acting personality rather than of the effacement of the self as in India. The Psalmists found their lives fuller and more significant because of their relation to God.

An echo of Jeremiah (1. 4-10) is found in several of the Psalms in the thought of God's responsibility and care for the individual from the beginning of his individuation in the mother's womb.

For thou didst form my inward parts:
Thou didst cover me in my mother's womb.
I will give thanks unto thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made:
Wonderful are thy works:
And that my soul knoweth right well.
My frame was not hidden from thee,
When I was made in secret,
And curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth.

Thine eyes did see mine unformed substance;
 And in thy book they were all written,
Even the days that were ordained for me,
 When as yet there was none of them.
 How precious also are thy thoughts unto me, O God!
 How great is the sum of them!
 If I should count them, they are more in number than the sand.

(139. 13-18. The Hebrew is especially vivid. See also Psalms 22. 7-10 and 71. 5, 6.)

Far from looking for the absorption, the Psalmists sometimes expressed the opinion that the praises of mortal man were of such peculiar value to God that he should prefer to save him from death, for, they asked, "Shall the dust praise thee? Shall it declare thy truth?" (30. 9. See 88. 10.)

In some Psalms the greater the vision of the glory of God the greater does man seem for whom he cares. After an ecstatic vision of the Creator, the author of Psalm 8 considers:

What is man, that thou art mindful of him?
 Or the son of man, that thou visitest him?
 For thou hast made him but little lower than God,
 And crownest him with glory and honor.

Psalm 18 has a remarkably stirring picture of the activity of God, bowing the heavens, riding on the wings of the wind, sending lightning and thunder, and laying bare the foundations of the earth, in his rebuke of the enemies of his worshiper, delivering him, "because he delighted in me" (vs. 19). It reminds one of Robert Browning's poem, "Instans Tyrannus." Psalm 72 tells also of the precious value to God of the poor and needy.

Being personalistic rather than monistic, this mysticism is often clearly conditioned on morality or contrition for sins.

Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts;
 And in the hidden part thou wilt make me to know wisdom.
 Purify me with hyssop, and I shall be clean:
 Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

Create in me a clean heart, O God;
 And renew a right spirit within me.
 Cast me not away from thy presence;
 And take not thy holy Spirit from me.

The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit:
 A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

(Psalm 51. 6, 7, 10, 11, 17. See also Ps. 24.)

5. After Effects

The Western world says with Jesus that we are to judge things by their fruits. What are the effects of such religion as that of the Psalmists? They speak of a continual glow, of the solving of problems, and of increased strength.

The mystic experience is not isolated. It continues. "When I awake, I am still with thee" (139. 18). It also transfigures all the rest of life for a long time (even though no such high emotional tension can remain constant). What else could account for such a joyous and sparkling burst of delight as we have in Psalm 114 or in Psalm 96. 11-13?

There was also a new interpretation of life's problems and temptations.

When I thought how I might know this,
It was too painful for me;
Until I went into the sanctuary of God,
And considered. . . . (73. 16, 17.)

There was an increase of strength, both physical and spiritual. "They go from strength to strength." (84. 7. See also 18. 29 and ff.) The increase of spiritual strength especially is the topic of many Psalms. It is perhaps at its best in the familiar strains of Psalm 23:

He restoreth my soul.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,
I will fear no evil; for thou art with me;
Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me. (Verses 3 and 4.)

CONCLUSIONS

To the religion of the emotional-active Hebrews, and to a large degree to the Psalms in particular, we are indebted for a mysticism that exalts and purifies human personality, fulfills it and spurs it on. The communion of God and man is one that results in activity in historical events as well as in supreme valuation for itself. It is a type of mysticism that can have the best of the values of contemplative fellowship and also permeate the social order. We should be much poorer if mysticism had to mean the emasculation of personality. We are heirs of a religion that may be the inspiration of the strong.

BEHAVIORISM AND ITS ANTI-RELIGIOUS IMPLICATIONS

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THE attack against religion has shifted from science to psychology. Every student of modern thought is aware that almost all of the old materialistic enemies of the spiritual interpretations of nature and of man have disappeared. But new foes have taken the field and are carrying on a savage struggle with new weapons. There was a time when materialism blatantly claimed to have captured the strongholds of religion. Some of the noisiest mechanistic scientists asserted that they had forever invalidated the spiritual beliefs of the Christian Church.

But the advocates of a tested religion have almost completely routed these obstreperous antagonists. Materialism, as based either in science or philosophy, is utterly discredited. Such extreme vagaries as Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe* belong to the museum of curiosities. The deeper knowledge of the universe has discovered law and unity and purpose and intelligence and beneficence and morality and movement toward divine goals. The distinguished Doctor Bowne put it succinctly when he declared, "The arguments from induction and from epistemology and metaphysics agree in confirming the claims of theism. If we suppose the world is based in intelligence, we find the facts in their great outlines agreeing thereto. If we make the opposite assumption we find nothing that we should expect. We find a non-rational power doing a rational work, an unconscious power producing consciousness, necessity produces freedom, or at least the illusion of freedom." He who holds to atheistic mechanism does so in the face of the logic and conclusions of our greatest religious thinkers. Significantly does Patrick declare in his masterly *Introduction to Philosophy*, "Materialism has passed away. It has no longer any interest either to the physicist or the philosopher."

But ancient materialism endeavors to live again in behaviorism. It is the vain effort to re-establish the discarded tenets of mechanism from the viewpoint of an extreme psychology. By adopting an erroneous method in psychology, by dogmatically rejecting some of the all-important factors in the evaluation of the self, by taking a low estimate of man's climactic powers, by discrediting the belief in the uniqueness of human personality, by sneering at man's spiritual potencies, by arrogantly making false claims which a religious psychology peremptorily denies—behaviorism has proven itself the most subtle foe of all spir-

ituality during the past two decades. By its very plausibility in some fields of biological and physical investigation, it has surreptitiously striven to validate its claims as a substitute for the higher reaches of psychology. If the pernicious influence of behaviorism is to be measured by its insidious attacks upon all the age-long spiritual premises of humanity, then it must be reckoned as the most dangerous foe that Christianity has ever been compelled to combat. Behaviorism must be measured not merely by its philosophic inconsistencies, but by its deleterious practical consequences upon human welfare.

Nobody denies that, through some of its investigations of animal and human psychology, behaviorism has made a permanent contribution. For its constructive insight regarding the physical and biological aspect of the human organism, only praise is due. By ingenious and patient investigations upon both animals and human beings, these new researchers have thrown added light upon the systems according to which the organism expresses itself in external behavior. We now have greater knowledge than ever before concerning stimuli and reactions and reflexes and "implicit" and "explicit" responses and habits, and other physiological happenings which are the mere bodily aspects of psychology.

But the very success of Watson and his school of investigators in these fields of organic and physical behavior have made them, so it seems to me, both superficial and dogmatic regarding other factors which most of the great psychologists consider absolutely indispensable to a proper evaluation of the human personality in all of its compass. The behaviorist makes radical assertions. He completely discards mind and consciousness and the self, and declares that these are illusions. He asserts that in the human organism there is nothing but the physical; that nothing more can be known or need be postulated about human life than that which is observable when the body reacts to stimuli. To them mind is simply behavior, and all of its phenomena may be explained as the response of the organism to some physiological stimulus. All subjective facts of mental life are for them worthless because the methods of introspection are useless. The behaviorist will deal only with "stimulus and response," and the goal of all psychological study is the ascertaining of such data and laws that, given the stimulus, psychology can determine what the response will be." Watson, therefore, boldly contends that he can write a psychology without either the terms or the presuppositions of the accredited psychologists. Meanwhile he is utterly unconscious of the fallacy that he deals merely with psychical meanings and is incompetent to explain other factors which are the climactic potencies of personality. Watson argues that the human organism is merely a marvelous machine

which automatically expresses itself in complex nervous reactions, without the activity of a mind, or an ego, or a central unifying agent, possessing consciousness and self-control. The chemico-physical changes account for everything. Consciousness and mind and soul are to be discarded as useless "superstitions." Soul is a senseless postulate held only by those who are still bound by meaningless delusions or by false beliefs in the supernatural; what some psychologists advocate as consciousness is merely a more complex form of physical or nervous behavior. On this theory all religion has no meaning except as behavior in the expression of "experimental ethics."

Not strange to say, Watson's radical and dogmatic theories have aroused keen opposition, not merely from the standpoint of theoretical psychology, but especially from the standpoint of the psychology of religion. Many inconsistencies and false assumptions invalidate its premises and its radical conclusions. No explanations regarding the human organism are adequate which interpret it merely as a physical creation without any higher psychical qualities which are the distinguishing characteristics of spirit. The human being is a psycho-physical creation. That which is man's crown and climax is his spiritual nature. We are more than bodies. The human organism is not solely a complex physical structure with mysterious and automatic reflexes, and reactions, and responses and habits. We are bodies *plus* something else which gives value and goal to everything about us that is merely bodily. For the sake of the spiritual does the physical exist. On this unshakable foundation is religion grounded. To reduce all human behavior to the mechanical is ridiculous. To question the validity of what is religious and spiritual is preposterous.

Behaviorism is based upon a fatal misconception. In his effort to establish a unitary scheme of animal responses, Watson states that he recognizes no dividing line between man and brute. Now, if Watson means by this that there is some kinship between the human and the animal organism, and some similarity between man's physical reactions and those of the lower orders of life, every theistic evolutionist will agree. But Watson proceeds on the assumption that there is no difference qualitatively between animal existence and human personality, except that man possesses a more highly complex organism and is therefore capable of more responses to environmental stimuli. But the error of this is self-evident to all except to those who are blinded by a theory. Between the animal and the human person there is a dividing chasm! The possession of a something (Watson would deny a soul) which is not possessed by a dog or a cow or a chimpanzee, differentiates man into a spiritual being.

However man's body may be related to the lower creatures, his unique higher powers make possible a life which culminates in all the sublime experiences of religion. For these he is created. To attain to these is the holy challenge of existence.

From the standpoint of theoretical psychology, behaviorism is invalidated by an egregious blunder. Watson talks about the "stimulus" and the thought, as if they were identical. Does he not know of the epoch-making discussions in epistemology? Has he never read the unanswerable arguments against speculative sensationalism? Does he not know that no trustworthy philosopher accepts to-day the theories of Locke and Hume and Spencer, who see no distinction between the external sensation and the inward perception? One is a purely physical thing. The other is an amazing and complicated process of knowing. For the behaviorist blandly to accept defunct Spencerism is intellectual illiteracy. Professor Bowne forever discredits Spencer and all behaviorists when with clearest logic he demonstrates that there is no such thing in experience as pure feeling or knowing or willing without a subject that feels and knows and wills. Thoughts and feelings, apart from something that thinks and feels, are unreal abstractions like motion apart from something that moves. In spontaneous thought and consciousness the mental subject is given as active and abiding; and the race has constructed names for it, as mind, soul, spirit and its equivalents, to indicate its reality. Mind can never be interpreted as only a collective term for the sum of mental facts. A mere stimulus is nothing but a physical fact until it is interpreted by the abiding unitary agent, and has a "meaning" assigned to it; until it is transfigured into something other than a mere physical occurrence. For example, in the sound of the human voice, the mere stimulus of the air vibrations as they reach the ear, are transferred by the auditory nerve to the brain cortex where they are interpreted by the "ego"—the abiding agent which uses the brain—into thoughts that have not a physical but an intellectual significance. The vibrations are recognized as words, spoken by somebody whom we know. The mere physical stimulus would remain only an external stimulus unless there is a spiritual ego which apprehends and reinterprets them. In this process which the behaviorist ignorantly and naively overlooks is involved all the amazing process of knowing. Of this "something that intervenes" between stimulus and thought Watson is blissfully unaware.

Nor can there be any accounting for the unity of the mental life except on the supposition that behavior is more than automatic response to stimulus. How can there be the knowledge of the sensation of color or odor or taste or of sound, unless these isolated facts are combined into a

larger unity by some abiding subject that is aware of its activity and has power to analyze in outline all the process? To deny the activity of this unitary psychic agent which utilizes all the mysterious machinery of the human organism; to claim that these facts of behavior are produced automatically by the physical reaction to stimuli in the organism—this is a rank reversion to a discredited materialism. Thought, of course, has its physical accompaniments in brain and nervous system, but only by the wildest flight of the fancy can thought be understood as merely a physical thing. It is indeed "an illogical imagination" which finds in the facts of mental dependence upon the organism a sure proof of materialism. Significantly does Hickman state, "From one point of view the organism through which we react to the stimuli which play upon us from our environment, may be called a *physical* organism, since it is made up of material elements, co-ordinated and made efficient by the nervous system. But from another point of view, it may be called a *psychical* organism, since the quality of organic reaction which gives it mental significance appears to be more than physical."

Our organism is so constituted by purpose of God as to react under certain circumstances; but the external stimulus is only a minor factor in the sum total of our human behavior. The inner life of experience is the all-important factor. As Russell says, "The mere occurrence of a muscular contraction within our body is not equivalent to an awareness of that occurrence."

Nor must we fail to see that under the materialistic presupposition of behaviorism, all actions become meaningless. If automatic, they are only empty reactions, not purposeful and initiated actions. Distinctions and differences of content completely disappear. Then one action is absolutely as good as another because it is predetermined. All deeds are on a dead-level of mechanistic necessity. There can be no distinction between good and bad, between truth and falsehood, between fancy and reality. Savage selfishness is as proper as sacrificial service. Rank injustice, cruelty, oppression, bestiality are as valuable as sympathy and self-control and helpfulness. Nothing has any value, inasmuch as nothing represents personal choice and conviction. Such things as thoughtfulness, deliberation, judgment, purpose, plan, struggle, conviction are sheer delusions on the theory that the mere physical stimulus is all-important in determining behavior, or our behavior is only automatic, impulsive, necessitated response to whatever stimulus the environment supplies. The basic fallacy of all this theorizing Professor Lovejoy points out in a recent article in the *Philosophical Review* upon "The Paradox of the Thinking Behaviorist," where he contends that there is a

vast distinction between the subject's muscular activity and his awareness or observation of that activity. If perceiving and thinking are what Watson says they are and nothing more, no organism can ever know either what it is doing or what object evokes its response." By denying the initiative and the validity of thought, Watson destroys the eternal distinction between sanity and insanity, and all behavior is chaos—"confusion worse confounded."

Nor has the behaviorist a satisfying explanation of what we call "awareness." By presupposing a mechanical view of human nature, and by vacating the meaning of consciousness, he makes only grotesque explanations of these higher phases of our mental life. Watson either "begs the question" by subtly substituting some term for it, or he dogmatically dismisses consciousness as having no psychological significance. But consciousness, or the supreme fact of our experience, the behaviorist cannot thus high handedly disregard. A human being is not like a tree or an animal. We not only have life; we not only behave, but we know what we are doing. We have experiences and are aware that we are having some experiences and not others. We have many automatic responses about which we are not conscious, and many reactions occur mechanically, but experience climaxes in awareness. In our conscious moods, when thought is directed and controlled, we analyze our thoughts, we investigate our processes, we utilize our consciousness for the sake of attaining the supreme things of existence. We know what we are doing. We recognize the difference between stimulus and response. If many of our bodily actions are automatic, it is only so in order that our intelligence and will may be relieved of the lower physical functions, and so that attention can be directed toward the higher achievements of existence. If we were compelled to be conscious of all of those intricate processes which are now automatic and involuntary, we would have no energy or time left for the more exalted things which mark us as creatures of a higher order. The most indisputable fact about ourselves is that however complex and physical the process of our mental life may be, there comes the time when, because we are more than body, we become aware of our thoughts. We are aware of ourselves as meditating upon our behavior. We are not machines grinding out a process, and unmindful of the outcomes. To deny this, as does the radical behaviorist, is to do violence to the basic fact of our experience. As Hickman convincingly states, "Even when we have grown critical enough to observe the structural elements in our own behavior, such as the operation of habit, sensation, memory, perception and the like, we have the conviction that we are something more than any of these elements of behavior, or than all of them put

together. We feel that we have these experiences and that we have some power of control over them. We are conscious of ourselves as existing at the center of all this behavior complexity, and in some degree at least superintending it." Indeed, if behaviorism had no other defect in it as a system, this fallacy alone would be sufficient to discredit it.

Behind this erroneous contention of the behaviorists, of course, exists the old fallacy which makes the brain or nervous system synonymous with mind, or which confounds the oscillations of cells in the cortex when we think, with the thought itself. On this defunct theory, the brain secretes thoughts as the liver secretes bile. But this ridiculous error is like identifying the wave-beats of a violin string with the violinist who draws the bow across the string and causes the vibration. Utilizing the brain, the self is able to think and feel and will. Behind all the physical concomitants of thought abides the thinker. The "ego," crown of the organism, utilizes the brain for its higher creations.

Just as behaviorism would make all thought impossible, so would it make all purposeful action impossible. All behavior would be dependent solely upon the mere stimulus from the present environment. Intention or plan would have absolutely no place in the activities of any human being. We would be as completely dependent upon our chance environment as the harp is upon the harpist. We could perform no action unless the incentive came to us from some physical causes. Thoughts and motives and purposes would have no power to initiate new activities. Of course we know that at a thousand points life contradicts this fallacious assumption. In our mature and more significant life we are influenced vastly more by our own original thoughts and purposes than by any chance physical stimulus. Significantly does Beckwith ask, "Does not a simple and sufficient refutation of behaviorism as an 'ism' lie, in the fact, in the existence and power of *motives*?" Granted that we behave well or ill—the question is *why* do we behave as we do? What makes the muscles—striped or unstriped—act diversely in different individuals? No answer is intelligent that leaves out the presence of motives and of a *self* who has them. While instincts and reflexes are dominant in the primary stages of our life history, intelligent control comes in at an early age to modify these inherited forms of behavior. Intelligent control and behaviorism are incompatible." We are pre-eminently influenced in our actions—lesser and greater—by our convictions, our beliefs, our preferences, rather than by the drive of some present stimulus. Martin demonstrates the error of the behavioristic view when he argues that very much of our action is controlled by future events, which consequently cannot be the stimulus to behavior. Every solving of a problem; every choice

between alternatives affecting the future; every outlining of a plan which is to be consummated later; every deliberate calculation concerning some obligation occurring in the future, disproves behaviorism, which builds upon present stimuli. Only on the theory of an abiding self to which the past, the present and the future are real, does action have possibility or meaning.

Nor must we fail to see that behaviorism vacates the significance of all emotions. These always have an intellectual or a spiritual meaning. Joy, sorrow, fear, anger, suspicion, hatred, affection—what is the meaning of these? Why do they not occur promiscuously or in a wild jumble? Because they are intellectual, not physical, in their final significance. They are not to be interpreted as the twitching of the muscles, or the wriggling of the nerves, or as a spasm of the organs. They are the experiences of the self which occur under certain conditions. They are facts of that something greater than the body which we call the spirit. The body does not become afraid. The self does, and causes reactions in the organism. The body records and expresses the emotion. How ludicrous to identify gladness with the breaking of the face into a smile; or tears with the grief of the soul when a loved one dies; or the laryngeal movements into laughter, with the appreciation by the intellect of a witticism. The organism doesn't cry or laugh or hate or love. These are mental or spiritual performances which display themselves through the body. How futile for the behaviorist to attempt to explain these profound feelings of awe or sublimity or wonder or admiration or thankfulness or adoration. Animal reaction does not account for these. These are not the experience of the body. They are the majestic expressions of the spirit of man. A thousand times more real than the sensations of pain or hunger or suffocation are these mystical, majestic experiences of our inner self, whereby we know that we are spiritual beings created in the image and likeness of God.

Nor can behaviorism escape the charge of being fatally deterministic. If we are governed in our actions solely by our external environment so that the self plays no part in controlling action, then no human being can be held accountable for his deeds, whether good or evil. Then there is no such thing as moral responsibility. Then the distinction between the person of character and the person of vilest criminal degradation is merely a delusion. Then the victorious man of exalted righteousness is no more to be commended for his character than the debased libertine is to be blamed for his sensuality. Both are merely doing what they must do, incited by their circumstances. Then our pretended freedom is a mockery. To punish any culprit for thuggery or thieving or

violence is rank cruelty to a helpless victim of circumstances! What folly such a theory!

If man is a mere machine—only like a “gas engine” made to run of itself under the proper conditions—then he cannot be blamed if in answer to some impulse from his unfortunate environment, he breaks out into wildest unrestraint. All crime on this theory must be explained as the inevitable reaction of the automatic nerves and muscles. So did Aaron excuse his constructing the “golden calf.” So would some flabby-minded psychologists excuse crime. If man is a machine, as Clarence Darrow argues and all behaviorism contends, morality is a delusion, sin is a virtue, man is a mere helpless victim. Impossible and meaningless for him then to become a victor. But in practical life we deny this slander. The natural thing is not the spontaneous thing, irrespective of consequences. Recently I saw an editorial in a newspaper in which the writer discussed the cause of crime. His article centered around the conviction that behaviorism, denying moral responsibility, was a prolific breeder of crime.

From the various viewpoints, therefore, of the interpretation of sensations, thought, morality, emotions, do we recognize that behaviorism is based upon faulty premises. To my mind, Professor Lovejoy is absolutely correct when he writes, “Behaviorism belongs to that class of theories which become absurd as soon as they become articulate.” With insight does Knudson state, “It is possible to construct phrases that seem to make the mental commensurate with the physical but the phrases are purely verbal. By identifying the psychical with the reactions of the organism, the behaviorists seem to think that they have eliminated not only the soul but consciousness itself. But behaviorism is materialism gone mad.”

From all these vagaries we are rescued by insistence upon the spiritual interpretation of personality.

All human action has a double significance. Some of it is grounded in that part of our organism where in order to liberate us for the higher pursuits of life, our actions are controlled automatically. Well may we gratefully marvel over the miracle of our body in which functions, instincts, habits, responses govern so mysteriously in the less significant spheres of our existence. But there are the higher experiences which presuppose the self. Significantly does Wilson say, “The self and the body are profoundly interrelated. Whatever the question concerning the activity of the self, the answer must recognize the part played by the body; whatever the issue concerning bodily functioning, no explanation can be final that ignores the self.”

Awareness, with its accompaniment of freedom, betokens the activity of the abiding psychic agent which we have the right to call the self, or the spirit. This something is the climax of personality as the flower or the fruit is the climax of the life of the tree. For the sake of this mysterious and majestic consummation, all other lower forms of life existed. To produce a being that has consciousness and self-determination, all the mighty upward urge of the evolutionary processes under the directivity of God! We understand the sublime meanings of life when we see its consummations, not in the amoeba or mollusk or fish or beast, but in the emergence of the human being possessing a more highly organized brain and nervous system, and therefore capable of consciousness and freedom and moral action and fellowship with God and immortality. To this conviction come all those insightful psychologists and philosophers who see the spiritual significance of evolution and who advocate the "theory of levels." Creative evolution culminates in human personality, characterized by an organism so complex and amazing that mind is possible with all its sacred accompaniments of consciousness and self-control and worship and ethical progress. To this conclusion comes Sellars when he writes, "The general plan of nature is like a pyramid of a tier-like construction. A process of creative organization led each stage to the advent of levels above. Matter evolved. Little by little came life, reaching upward to more complex forms. Slowly life lifted to mind, the human mind being the latest and highest to appear." How absurd to limit all behavior, therefore, to that which pertains only to the lower levels of human existence. Wisely does Strickland state, "A thoroughgoing behaviorism is hardly more than a kind of 'mental biology.' It does valuable service in emphasizing the importance of organic processes. But it fails in dealing with experiences on the human level."

Because of these higher-level capacities of our human existence, are we capable of conduct and character. The behaviorist fails to note the tremendous distinction between "behavior" and "conduct." Behavior is action on a mere bodily level and governed only by chance stimuli. Conduct is action governed by thought, by ideals, by motives, by purposes, by conformity to God. An animal has behavior because its actions have no moral content. A spiritualized human being has conduct because we have an inner urge into obedience toward those standards of life which "conscience," or social custom, or religious training establishes. We feel ourselves responsible for our actions. A marvelous transition indeed, when we make the change from behavior governed by impulse to conduct controlled by principles; when we refuse to be dominated by every vagrant stimulus from the external environment, or when we purposefully repress

unworthy impulses. This progress into life controlled by highest moral standards is our glory! This demonstrates not our relationship with the lower orders of life. It proves our kinship with God! In our actions we are not the fated puppets of a meaningless environment. We are created for choices, judgments, struggles, achievements, religion. We are motivated by sacred purposes. As Dresser states, "We pursue ends, we toil for the conservation of values, we realize ideals." Every behaviorist must ponder over the words of Martin, "Alternative and choice are the basis of mental life. I do not see how anybody can write a psychology, take in all the facts of human behavior, treat them squarely, and ignore the fact that man is a choosing animal." He chooses because he is a "self," a "spirit."

When he discusses the "oyster theory of existence," Professor Wiggam directs the shafts of his sharp ridicule against the behaviorist. In his suggestive book upon "The Next Age of Man," Wiggam forever disposes of the superficial theory that environment and stimuli and reflex-responses are the significant factors in action. He says, "An oyster is almost entirely the product of its environment. Indeed, the oyster is almost wholly a creature of circumstance. This is precisely the view which our behavioristic friends and other extreme environmentalists seem to me to hold as to the brain of a new-born child. It seems that it would make scarcely any difference in a child's future intelligence and moral character, if we should without injury remove the child's brain at birth, and fill its skull with a colony of oysters. Oysters are composed of sentient tissues, and this is all that the behaviorist seems to demand as his original stock-in-trade for producing either an imbecile or a genius, measuring the orbits of the stars." To say that we are utterly dependent upon our environment is both a libel and an insult! All of human history disproves the behavioristic contention.

Nor can we overlook the fact that from many departments of our practical life behaviorism is "completely discredited." No critic of its fallacies has done this more conclusively or more unanswerably than has Professor Roback. With rare keenness does he point out the psychological aberrations of behaviorists on account of the "nebulosity of their theories"; because they "beg the question and coolly take things for granted; and because they have the vicious habit of changing the aspects of psychological phenomena whereby mental facts are brought under some non-mental scheme." He especially discards behaviorism inasmuch as it fails of verification in whole systems of science, literature, education, etc., which are dependent upon the reality of mental states and processes. It is absolutely incompatible with ethics, and jurisprudence, and medicine, and

intelligence, and religion, and social backgrounds. He argues that consciousness is a prime condition of conduct; that on all questions of law emphasis is laid upon motive, plan, knowledge and belief in the degree of guilt; that psychiatrists and physicians proceed on the basis of the patient's introspection and reliability of diagnosis; that religious consciousness is analyzable but not reducible to non-mental components. Behaviorists argue in support of the theory that man is a "conscious automaton." Professor Roback ridicules the entire false assumption when he eloquently states, "It is human perceptions, feelings, thoughts, emotions that are expressed in the music of Bach and Beethoven, in the paintings of Raphael and Rembrandt, in the sculpture of Phidias and Michelangelo, in the poetry of Homer and Dante." These are not mechanical productions, dependent upon the chance behavior of the muscles, they are the majestic creations of mind!

Just because action may be purposive and governed not by chance environment but by ideals, is there the possibility of change of personality. Watson attempts to describe personality, but he does it always from the mechanistic viewpoint. Personality, to him, is merely organism at work. It is but the outgrowth of the habits we form. He thinks of man as an assembled organic machine ready to run when the environment supplies the stimuli. But this interpretation of personality thus physically construed is pitifully inadequate. All those who appreciate the spiritual significance of human existence stress another interpretation. Personality is a potency to be developed by the moral urge, by training, by discipline, by new choices, by struggle. As Strickland states, "We need a psychology which deals not only with the physical organism but with the growing, developing person. Personality may be measured in terms of capacity for conscious control of action. This means a kind of motivating of action, and calls for loyalty and often sacrifice, and the putting aside of the calls of organic impulse. When this takes place, behavior has given place to conduct, in the highest degree moralized. This control develops around the recognition of the self and the relation of the self to other selves and ultimately, in religious experience, in the relation to God."

Because we human beings thus have the urge to appreciate values do we become creators in the realms of art and music and science and government and moralized social relations. Because our existence is not biologically or physically predetermined, as is that of an animal, do we become co-workers with God for the building of his kingdom of righteousness and good will among all men. We are creators because we have a spirit akin to God.

Convinced of the reality of spirit as the major and supreme value of all human facts, do we hold to the sacred belief in the immortality of the self. Being possessed of personality, and of the power of volition, purpose, morality, fellowship with God—the spirit of man has other potencies of which the behaviorist does not dream.

Trustfully may we accept the great words of Professor Pratt, "There is good hope that the death of the body shall not be the end of us. The mind being different in nature from the body and subject to different laws, there is no good reason to believe that the death of the body is relevant to the life of the mind. I am a child of earth—yes, that is plain—alas, all too plain—but a child of starry heaven, too!"

BRITAIN—AMERICA

(AN INTERNATIONAL HYMN)

OUR fathers' God whose hand
The century hath spanned
With love unknown,
The years to come enfold
With kindness as of old;
Thy mercy manifold
To us be shown.

In faith and language, one,
While shines the steadfast sun
Be this our song:
"Brothers by hearths of yore,
Brothers on sea and shore,
Brothers forevermore!
Faithful and strong."

Britain—America—
Rejoice! the better day
Breaks from above:
Crowning earth's hopes and fears,
Harvest of toils and tears,
Pledge of a thousand years
Of peace and love.

BENJAMIN COPELAND.

Buffalo, N. Y.

SOME PROBLEMS IN BEHAVIORISM

ALFRED WOOD

Pawtucket, R. I.

I

BEHAVIORISM as a system of psychology is at present riding on a high wave of popularity. But it is not yet certain that the data of introspective psychology have been used for the last time, or even that Behaviorism will continue to hold its present place in the sun. Undoubtedly the new movement has made a worthwhile contribution to psychological lore, in throwing emphasis upon the objective, but that by no means is proof that the technique of the older system is to be ignored.

It seems to be the fashion among scientists in general that when one brings forward a new hypothesis the old must be disparaged. The exponents of Behaviorism are following in this well-broken path, and one is not at all surprised to see many pet theories ridiculed. It is, however, quite a shock to find that almost over night philosophy has lost its use, that studies that long have carried the name sociology, social psychology, experimental psychology, are but part of the greater Behaviorism, while all introspection is as nothing.

In attempting an analysis of the new movement, it is, perhaps, wide of the mark to speak of matters etymological, but if Behaviorism is to be a science of such sweeping dimensions surely a name descriptive rather than contradictory of its method might be found. In Doctor Watson's exposition of the new science¹ the reader is informed not only of the scope of the new psychology, but also that Mind and Consciousness are nonentities. If so, why psychology at all? for this term presupposes a systematic study of mind function. It seems as though, along with philosophy and sociology, psychology has ceased to be and only Behaviorism, or perhaps, Behaviorology, remains.

II

"Behaviorism is a study of what people do," and "everything done is or becomes a psychological fact or happening." Thus are we introduced to the newly developed technique. Folks are objectively viewed in their business, social, church, and home life. The hypothetical John

¹ *Harpers*, May, June, July, 1926.

Smith is seen and catalogued as to his peculiarities. He is viewed objectively as though he were in a test tube. Not only is he seen "behaving" as an adult, but his responses to physical stimuli, manifested through his entire life, are tabulated. As a new born babe this John Smith, along with all other babes, is to the Behaviorist simply a physical entity. To bring a smile to his features he must be stimulated by a touch upon the lips or chin. To make him blink there is a choice of three stimuli, while to make him cry a choice of many. Thus is the child, like the lower animal, living in and being acted upon by a physical universe, and what is true of the child is as true of the adult. Together are they the puppets of an external force. It is seen, however, particularly as the years go by, that present stimuli do not account for all the actions, for all the responses, of the developing child or of the adult, and so conditioned stimuli and conditioned responses fill the gap. "For example, the first sight of a stick will not cause a youngster to dodge when he sees it. He must be struck before he dodges. If I now strike his head sharply each time he sees me pick up the stick, he soon dodges the instant he catches sight of it in my hand. I have set up a conditioned response." Thus is the behavior of each individual made up of simple and conditioned responses, and a study of these reveals life in its entirety. Many of us are much like the children in our actions.

Since the day when the early Greeks debated their problems in the market place, metaphysicians have theorized regarding the "science of the mind" and neglected to tabulate "mind expression." Under the direction of the Behaviorist the expressional activity of the race is to be graphed and life is to be charted for future generations. John Smith, the child of environmental stimuli, will so be conditioned from birth that he will fall, as an automaton, into his prescribed sphere of life. In fact, the hope is expressed "that in some future day the worst social failure, provided he be biologically sound, may be pulled apart, biologically speaking, and given a new set of works." All that is necessary, then, to control the individual, to have him behave as society specifies, is to confront him from birth with the appropriate stimuli.

Understanding that the enthusiastic Behaviorist, in his dreams of the Utopia when men shall be made to order, is perhaps over-reaching himself, it seems to the writer that the study under laboratory conditions of the formation of habits can bring forth only that which is good. Behaviorism, showing how the adult is swayed by the conditioning influences of his babyhood and of the passing years, teaches parent and mentor new responsibilities. In this particular field—the study of the development of habits—lies the forte of the Behaviorist.

III

It is recognized by many scientists that the terms soul and self are taboo, but it is questionable whether the majority of even these scholars are ready to place the terms Mind and Consciousness in the same category, as is done by the Behaviorist. Most psychologists, certainly if those in European countries are included, feel that to explain the mental life in biological terms, and to classify a "productive intellectuality that is without consciousness," is an impossible task.

Consciousness is denied by the Behaviorist because it cannot be demonstrated by approved laboratory methods. "You say there is such a thing as consciousness, that consciousness goes on in you—then prove it. You say that you have sensations, perceptions, and images—then demonstrate them as other sciences demonstrate their facts." But on the same basis of reasoning does not man lack life? for life and consciousness alike are difficult to demonstrate. In common-sense terminology, the body ceases to live when the organs fail to function, but scientifically the dividing line between the living and the dead is difficult to draw. Is the decapitated chicken which tumbles about the yard dead or alive? Is the frog with severed nervous system, still kicking and scratching in response to a chemical stimulus, alive or just making believe? These are rather foolish questions to ask but the answer to them depends altogether upon the viewpoint. Has the patient who sank into a state of coma, whose organs at the time apparently ceased to move, and who yet recovered health and strength, been alive all the time? The answer must be in the affirmative but it would be difficult so to prove. While men walk side by side through life some live at a faster pace than do the rest. Living vigorously, they accomplish more. Are the former only partly living? When is a man living? and how can we get this thing life into the test tube?

To demonstrate consciousness is likewise difficult. The border line between the conscious and the unconscious states is not hard and fast, and neither is it definable. The patient under the anæsthetic is counted unconscious, in that he lacks the capacity to meet problems. Under favorable circumstances this condition is followed by a period of waking when doctor and layman are equally uncertain as to where, intellectually, the sick one is. A day later, however, there is no doubt on the matter, for the patient rationally attempts to tell his needs, and as he struggles to control his environment, instead of being controlled by it, he is counted conscious. Consciousness is not a "thing" any more than life is a "thing" to be mathematically measured, but a capacity which enables its possessor

to rationalize his environment, and to work in the field of abstractions. It is a "state of mind," and the state is that of awakesness. In spite of the questions technical and otherwise that may be raised, one is reckoned alive when the organs of the body appear to function, and one is reckoned conscious when he appears to be intellectually awake. Both terms, life and consciousness, are used comparatively and are of value in that they describe conditions and not things.

IV

Acknowledging the fact of habit formation the introspective psychologist and the Behaviorist travel in company. The two schools drift apart while seeking the answer as to what constitutes the totality of the mental life. Behaviorism says that in the psychical as in the physical the impetus of the material in stimulus and corresponding response explains all. The introspectionist, agreeing that the physical has its part to play in the scheme of mentality, and acknowledging that the stimulus-response combination is a satisfactory explanation of many of life's phenomena, yet sees in the intellectual an added element, psychical in content.

The illustrations below note points of agreement and that of division in the two schools. The paramecium, a protozoan of humble type, acts somewhat voraciously when substance of a food nature drifts into its vicinity. Little specks of carmine act as a stimulus to this foraging capacity, and the corresponding response is seen in the enveloping and later ejection of the particles by the organism. This is a typical example of the stimulus-response behavior so often stressed to-day. After being "fooled" a few times, the paramecium is conditioned and the carmine is ignored. The ignoring is the conditioned response. In the production of the above results, psychologists in general agree that a psychical capacity is unnecessary. In any case, an associative memory apart from a centralized nervous organization would, in any organism, appear to be an impossibility, and the conclusion is drawn both by Behaviorist and Introspectionist that such memory as might exist in the paramecium is purely organic in type, and depends upon a capacity of the tissue to retain an impression and to respond appropriately under a later experience of a like nature. An interesting experiment was made in the training, in the conditioning, of a pike. A large aquarium was divided with a glass screen, the pike being placed in one section and minnows in the other. The larger fish dashed repeatedly for the smaller ones, each time bruising its nose on the screen, and after a while it acquired the habit of seeking food elsewhere. When the screen was removed the pike still gave

the conditioned response and the minnows swam the tank in safety. While one might support the hypothesis of an associative memory in the pike, as evidenced by the above conduct, the automatic responses noted in human life, conditioned responses that enable the individual to escape injury and pain, support the claim of the Behaviorist and of many an Introspectionist that the pike needed no psychical ability, but acted wholly on the conditioned-response basis. Using illustrations typical to the above such as are found throughout the lower animal world, and noting that among men the habitual tends to govern conduct, the Behaviorist brings forward his hypothesis that all life, including that in the Genus Homo, is to be explained in biological terms; and here is the parting of the psychological ways.

Showing the difference between stimulus-response action and conduct guided by the psychical, one teacher uses a story from the farm. Just as the milk pail was full along came a little dog. A nip on the hind foot of the cow brought forth a simple response and over went the bucket. Had the barn-man some time previously with the stick inhibited the kicking impulse in the bovine the bite of the dog would have been followed by a conditioned response. But had the cow, without specific conditioning, "swallowed its wrath" and out of consideration for the full bucket refrained from kicking there would have been some excuse for attributing to the cow psychical qualities. But as it was the cow kicked.

That which obviously is lacking in the cow, the ability to govern conduct by the idealistic spirit or to leave the concrete and immediate and reach into a world of abstractions, is everywhere present in human experience. Harold Begbie, in his *Twice Born Men*, gives the personal history of men conditioned from birth for an anti-social life and who, in answer to the challenge of Idealism, remade their outlook and changed the trend of their lives. And these examples are by no means exceptional, for the history of religion is replete with instances of those who have subjugated the physical at the call of the spiritual ideal. During the days of the Great War thousands of men in each warring country, moved by the preaching of a national ideal, offered themselves for service. It was no idle offering. These men knew the risks they were taking, and in some cases they were practically sure that they would be destroyed in the carnage. Their offer for service was the vindication of the power of the psychical. The physical, the physiological man, is always on the side of self-preservation; ever seeking the satisfiers of life and shunning, fearing the annoyers, seeking the pleasurable and hiding from the hurtful. But under the sway of Idealism the psychical comes to the fore. At times satisfiers are scorned and annoyers are welcomed. In fact the whole story

of Idealism is one of victory for the psychical; for the capacity that is not to be measured in biological terminology.

What of the history of Intellectualism? Is the secret of the works of Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, to be found in the stimulus-response hypothesis? The Introspectionist cannot see how the physical impetus can be creative of anything other than a purely physical response. The physiological shake-ups and break-downs of the neurons, and setting free of nervous or electrical energy in the brain, appear more like tools used in the intellectual process than like both tools and organizing genius. The "common-sense" philosopher still prefers to see the reflex as a physical response, and Ideation as the result of a psychical capacity.

What is this psychical element? this element with a capacity to idealize and to use the physical for its own ends? to reach into a non-physical world, a realm of thought, and create not only new ideas but a new physical world? To understand this non-biological element is the hope of the Introspectionist as he notes not only his own behavior and that of others, but as he musingly delves into his thoughts, emotions, and volitions; into the secret places of his mind.

V

Referring again to the future work of Behaviorism, the remaking of society through the use of psychological graphs, the Introspectionist asks how the scheme is to materialize if the premises of the new psychology are true. Without consciousness, at least the awareness of an entity in apposition to a world at large, or Mind, the creative psychical faculty which makes possible the co-ordination and organization of physical and non-physical stimuli, how is the need of a change to be known, the plan to be drawn, and the scheme to be launched and brought to fruition? Stimulation of afferent and efferent nerves and of the neurons hardly explains an idealistic act that may cost a life, and neither does it explain the solving of a metaphysical problem. Somewhere along the line between the point of stimulus and the idealistic response, expressed in sacrificial conduct, or the intellectual response, expressed in the discussion of abstract subjects, there has been a weighing of evidence and a consideration of consequences; there has been at work some faculty such as is designated by the term Mind.

If all that a man does is to respond to the kick of a physical environment how is headway to be made along any line? If there are any problems in human life, who is to meet them? And as to the remaking of society, who is to determine what are the appropriate stimuli, of man has no mind with which to think. If society is made up of individuals who

simply "respond" where is the organization that is "to pull men apart and give them a new set of works"? Here, indeed, is a dilemma of paradoxes.

Seeking to evaluate Behaviorism, the writer has come to the following conclusions: (1) The new system of psychology is immensely worth while in its emphasis upon habit formation. (2) Seeing in human experience only that which can objectively be measured, Behaviorism fails to account for the psychical element; an element upon which depend both the intellectual life and idealistic conduct. (3) Behaviorism is self-contradictory in that it acknowledges only objectives and yet proposes a plan of work, that of remaking the human race, which must be subjectively theorized and directed. This latter task, apart from a creative thinking intellectuality, a Mind in fact, is impossible.

COTTON MATHER

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COTTON MATHER was rich in ecclesiastical ancestors. The cumulative distinction of the family is recorded in an old epitaph composed for his grandfather:

UNDER THIS STONE LIES RICHARD MATHER,
WHO HAD A SON GREATER THAN HIS FATHER,
AND EKE A GRANDSON GREATER THAN EITHER.

Richard, the first of the Mather dynasty, was very much of a man. He was chased out of England by the Archbishop of York because he had committed the major sin of preaching without a surplice. On August 17, 1635, he landed in New England. At this time he was thirty-nine years of age and according to Moses Coit Tyler was "a man of extensive and precise learning." Cotton Mather gives us the following information about his grandfather: His voice "was loud and big; and uttered with deliberate vehemency, it procured unto his ministry an awful and very taking majesty." Thomas Hooker, likewise an exiled Puritan and a giant in the pulpit, said, "My brother Mather is a mighty man." He accepted the call to the church at Dorchester and remained in its service until his death. In the ecclesiastical politics of his day he was an outstanding figure. He is especially remembered as one of the producers of the highly unpoetical *Bay Psalm Book*. He had what has been aptly termed the gift of "personal conspicuousness" and loomed large among the pulpiteers of his generation. Yet, like the whole Mather dynasty, he was pre-eminently a man of books. The morning before he died he begged his friends that they would help him into his study, but when he discovered that he was unable to get from his bedroom to his library, he said, "I see I am not able. I have not been in my study for several days; and is it not a lamentable thing that I should lose so much time?"

His son, Increase, was indeed "greater than his father" if prominence and activity are to be the standard of judgment. Increase Mather was born in Dorchester, June 21, 1639. His given name was inflicted upon him, as we are informed, by an old biography, on account of the patriotic gratitude of his parents for "the increase of every sort, wherewith God favored the country about the time of his nativity." He re-

ceived his first degree from Harvard at the age of seventeen, delivering on commencement day a Latin oration containing a terrific arraignment of the philosophy of Aristotle. On his eighteenth birthday he preached his first sermon in his father's pulpit at Dorchester, taking for his text, "And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him." His second sermon was preached on the sixth verse of the ninth chapter of Saint John, "concerning the excellency of Christ." Five days later he sailed for Dublin, where he matriculated at Trinity College, from which he took his Master's degree the following year with high distinction. The next three years he spent in the British Isles, preaching with great effect. When he returned to America, invitations to accept pastorates poured in from "as many places as there are signs for the sun in the Zodiac." Eventually he consented to become minister of the North Church of Boston. For almost sixty years his pulpit was his throne of power. Yet his busy and influential ministry did not represent the limit of his activities. For about twenty years he was president of Harvard College, a position which kept him up to the elbows in controversy as long as he held it. Finally he was removed from the presidency because of his refusal to live in Cambridge rather than in Boston. He later made several unsuccessful efforts to regain this lost position. He spent several years at the British court as representative of the colony and showed no mean skill as a diplomat. Little happened in the life of the New England of that day with which Increase Mather did not concern himself. Yet he found time to produce pamphlet after pamphlet and book after book. The latest bibliography of his works contains almost a hundred and fifty titles. Most of these represent sermons, but Mather published more books than any other man of his generation. Although few of us to-day would voluntarily spend many hours in the reading of his literary output, we cannot help admiring the prodigious industry which brought it into existence. Influential as he was in the New England of his day, his power appreciably decreased during his last years. As he grew older the number of his controversies increased rather than lessened and his years were shadowed by many disappointments. It is hard to study the Mathers separately. Cotton Mather was only twenty-four years younger than his father and lived but five years after his death. Most students of the literature and history of the period have given pre-eminence to the son, but the two latest authorities who have expressed themselves take a different view. Dr. Vernon L. Parrington in the analysis of "The Colonial Mind," in his *Main Currents of American Thought*, rates Increase Mather as the "most generously endowed with capacity for leadership" of any member of his family. In the latest, best and probably final biography

of the second Mather, its author, Dr. Kenneth Ballard Murdock, propounds a thesis in his title, "Increase Mather, the Foremost American Puritan." At all events Increase Mather is worth remembering not only on account of his distinguished son but in his own right as well.

Distinguished as his immediate paternal ancestors were, their names comprised only a small part of the illustrious pedigree of Cotton Mather. The first wife of Increase Mather was Maria Cotton, daughter of John Cotton, "teacher" of the First Church of Boston and "the mightiest man in New England." He had had charge of the great church of Saint Botolph's in Boston; England. As the years went by he had grown in power and distinction and was regarded as one of the eminent clergymen of England. But he was a Puritan and upon him fell the baleful glance of Archbishop Laud, who was not satisfied until he had harried him out of England. It was a great day for the American Saint Botolph's town when the mighty Cotton landed on the shores of New England. The star of his fame, which once had brightly glowed in the old city in Lincolnshire, shone brighter and brighter in the militant, self-satisfied, three-hilled town on the edge of the wilderness. Year after year he preached to a people who heard him and quoted him with an undiluted reverence. He wrote books and pamphlets on subjects like *Milk for Babes*, *A Treatise Concerning Predestination*, and *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace as It Is Dispensed to the Elect Seed*. He was not a tolerant man and was active in driving Roger Williams from the colony after having engaged in an unedifying controversy with him. Like many of the illustrious clergymen of those heroic seventeenth-century days he was a student whom we of weaker generation can more easily admire than we can imitate. He called twelve hours in his study a scholar's day. Last of all every night he would read from the writings of the colossal John Calvin. He said, "I love to sweeten my mouth with a piece of Calvin before I go to sleep." The name of John Cotton is not especially familiar to the student of to-day. His writings gather dust on the out-of-the-way shelves of libraries, but this medium-sized, white-haired preacher with the clear, resonant, sympathetic voice was the towering intellectual and spiritual force of that Boston of the long ago. In his *History of American Literature*, a book whose rich scholarship, discriminating judgments and felicitous language tempt to frequent quotation, Moses Coit Tyler characterizes him as "the unmitred pope of a pope-hating commonwealth."

From the days of his earliest childhood Cotton Mather was not allowed to forget that he was of illustrious lineage. He was conscious of the Brahman caste. When a little boy in good Master Cheever's Boston Latin School he composed forms of prayer for his schoolmates

"and obliged them to pray" and "rebuked them for their wicked words and ways." All of us have sufficient individual knowledge of original sin not to be surprised to read what follows: "Sometimes I suffered from them the persecution of not only scoffs but blows also for my rebukes." At the age of twelve, already widely read in Greek and Latin authors, he passed from the Latin School to Harvard. When he received his first degree in 1678 at the ripe age of fifteen President Urian Oakes in a Latin oration gave expression to some sloppy palaver about the fortunate youth who bore the illustrious names of Cotton and Mather. Three years after this he received his second degree from the hand of his father, delivering an oration on the subject "*Puncta Hebraica sunt Originis Divinae*." (Hebrew Vowel Points Are of Divine Origin.) A few months later he was made one of the pastors of his father's church, and remained a minister of the North Church until his death.

His life was one of intense activity. Naturally he preached sermons long and innumerable. Especially did he take a naive joy in being the preacher on state occasions. Sewall, in his diary, realistically describes his preaching to some pirates just before they were executed. He was frequently called upon to preach the election sermon and at least once was chosen to deliver "the artillery sermon." But preaching did not furnish a sufficient scope for the active-minded, aggressive Cotton Mather. Parrington says, "The Mathers were an especially provocative family, capable, ambitious, certain to have a finger in every pie baking in the theocratic oven." This was especially true of the third member of the dynasty. One would have to be a mathematician of more than ordinary ability to keep an accurate record of his quarrels. He was intensely interested in Harvard College and was ambitious to be its president. The election of Joseph Sewall "for his piety," as Mather put it, sounded the death-knell of the presidential hopes of "the literary behemoth" of colonial New England. Even before this he believed that Harvard had drifted far from the true faith, and had lent aid and encouragement to the new college which had been established in Connecticut and named in honor of Elihu Yale. He had an intense interest in science and courageously took an active part in the introducing of inoculation as a method of preventing smallpox. His zeal in the persecution of witches has made a blot on his record which time will never entirely efface. Then, too, he was afflicted with an incurable itch for expressing himself too frequently in print. His son records that he published three hundred and eighty-three pamphlets or books. In Sabin's *Bibliotheca Americana* the number is given as four hundred and eleven. Possibly even there the list is incomplete. But there is no need of worry about this. Nobody is compelled to read

all of them and most of the writings of Cotton Mather will for all time be untouched save by the delver into literary antiquities.

His *opus magnum* is without a doubt his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, or *Ecclesiastical History of New England*. It is easy to too greatly minimize the value of this bulky conglomeration of fact and fiction, wisdom and nonsense. It is one of the most unreadable books ever written in the English language. Yet it is not without its merits. Mather was a tireless collector of material both from books and life. The work contains some excellent biographies and good narrative. It consists of seven books, the first devoted to the settlement of New England, the second to the lives of the governors, the third to the biographies of ministers, the fourth to the history of Harvard College, the fifth to the history of the church of the Puritans in the colonies, the sixth to "remarkable providences" and the seventh to various disturbances in the churches. Mather boasted that he knew seven languages. And how dearly he loved to work in a quotation from classical Greek or a group of Sanscrit sentences, or a few Ciceronian periods. These, naturally, do not add to the lucidity of his writings. Yet now and then the reader is inclined to feel that Mather's English is about as mystifying as his Sanscrit. Whittier speaks of the book as a conglomeration of "strange and marvelous things, heaped up huge and undigested." Among his other noteworthy volumes is *Wonders of the Invisible World*, a work which clearly illustrates the type of psychology which would cause such a calamity as the witchcraft craze at Salem. *The Christian Philosopher* is a summary of the scientific knowledge available to the alert mind of the early eighteenth century. *Essays to Do Good* is a practical and surprisingly readable little book, which Benjamin Franklin, in his old age, said had influenced the course of his entire life.

Mather's life was shadowed by more than the usual number of domestic bereavements. His parents were long spared to him, but he buried two wives and thirteen children. Although Increase, his oldest and apparently best loved son, developed into very much of a reprobate, his death at sea was a deeply lamented tragedy in the life of his father. His third wife suffered from a neuroticism which was perilously near to insanity. Desiring to confide his troubles with her to his diary, he hit upon the expedient of writing in Latin in order to protect his lamentations from her "indecent romagings." The diaries recording the happenings of the last years of his life are full of complaints of the actions of his "unaccountable consort." There is no doubt, though, that Cotton Mather was a man who loved his family. He was not such a dehumanized pedant that his heart did not break when child after child was taken from him. Most

of them died in early childhood; several of them, however, lived until they had reached maturity. When his long, busy, troubled life came to an end but two of his fifteen children survived him. This fact in itself is evidence that Mather knew what it was to pass through the deep waters of sorrow.

During his life he kept over a hundred fasts besides many midnight vigils, during which he lay for hours on the floor, sometimes moaning with agony over his vileness and again thrilling with the joy of spiritual ecstasy. It was his ambition "to resemble a rabbi mentioned in the Talmud, whose face was black by reason of his fasting." He began to keep fasts at the age of fourteen and as he grew older they became frequent and more intense. In his old age he, on one occasion, fasted for three consecutive days and spent the time "knocking at the gate of heaven."

He developed the habit of giving a spiritual, or at least an ethical, significance to the most ordinary occurrences of life. His son Samuel, in his biography of his father, gives many examples of this characteristic. "When he washed his hands, he must think of the clean hands, as well as pure heart, which belong to the citizens of Zion." "And when he did so mean an action as paring his nails, he thought how he might lay aside all superfluity of naughtiness." "He had many years a morning cough: it every morning 'raised' proper dispositions of piety in him." "Upon the sight of a tall man he said, 'Lord, give that man high attainments in Christianity; let him fear God above many'; a Negro, 'Lord, wash that poor soul; make him white by the washing of thy Spirit'; a man going by without observing him, 'Lord, I pray thee help that man to take due notice of Christ.'" "When he suffered from toothache he began to try to decide in what way he had sinned with his teeth. Had he been guilty of 'sinful and excessive eating'? Or had it been by 'evil speeches' in the making of which he used 'literae dentales'?" Another example of his homiletical use of every circumstance is exemplified in the following incident: "Two of my children have been newly scorched with gun-powder, wherein, though they have received a merciful deliverance, yet they undergo a smart that is considerable. I must improve this occasion to inculcate lessons of piety upon them, especially with relation to their danger of everlasting burnings."

To many, Cotton Mather is remembered only as one of the arch-persecutors of the victims of the witchcraft delusion. His most ardent defender cannot exculpate him of the blame which has been heaped upon him for his leadership in this inglorious chapter in New England history. Wherever Mather was, he was active. In this holocaust of persecution he

played no passive part. He thought witchcraft, talked witchcraft and wrote witchcraft. Justice, however, compels us to admit that Mather objected to the accused persons being convicted on purely "spectral" evidence and that he was tireless in trying to secure all available information in regard to the cases. Barrett Wendell has characterized the witchcraft craze as "an epidemic of superstition" and has furthermore spoken of it as "as diabolical a fact as human beings can know." Yet it is probable that the culpability of the Mathers in regard to this delusion has been exaggerated. They believed that they were fighting the devil. It was commonly believed that the Satanic legions, having been driven out of Europe, had taken refuge in the American wilderness, where they were now being compelled to battle for pre-eminence against the Puritan theocracy. The delusion was an inevitable outgrowth of a provincial environment and a theology which was more logical than sensible. Moreover, it must be remembered that at this period practically everybody believed in witchcraft. And more than this, New England was scared. Mather and his contemporaries felt that they were battling not against flesh and blood but the spirits of the nether world. A fear of the supernatural breeds panic and these Puritan preachers and their contemporaries hopelessly lost their moorings. If Cotton Mather had been able to see farther than the other men of his generation and had fought against the delusion, he would to-day be looked upon as one of the heroes of our nation's earlier days. But like most of us he was circumscribed by the thought-life of his own generation. Therefore, he blundered with them and because of his aggressive personality and his dominating position will be remembered as a chief actor in one of the bloodiest scenes in the drama of American history.

Cotton Mather was a social and theological reactionary. He was the high priest of the fundamentalism of his day. All of the Mathers were tenacious of the autocracy of the clergy. Cotton Mather felt that he had the same right to lay down unquestionable edicts that his grandfathers had. The trouble, though, was that the people of New England did not agree with him. The whole Mather philosophy ran counter to the rising tide of a new democracy. Life in America had accentuated the English passion for freedom. The American Puritan had come to represent what Burke called "The dissidence of dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion." No longer were they willing to take orders from a group of arbitrary clerics. The Mathers were conservative theologically and lamented throughout many years the disloyalty of Harvard to the pristine Calvinism of the fathers. Cotton Mather especially was given to bewailing "the wretched condition of the college" and on at least

two commencement days he remained at home in Boston praying for the institution. The entry in his diary for July 2, 1719, contains these words:

"This being the day of the senseless diversion they call commencement at Cambridge, one of my special errands unto heaven was to ask blessings for the college and the rescue of it from wretched circumstances in which it is now languishing."

These bemoanings, however, were not entirely due to the theological aberrations of the school at Cambridge. They owed their origin, to some extent, to the fact that the Mathers were becoming less and less influential in the educational and religious councils of New England. The old theocracy no longer existed, but neither of the Mathers knew it. They did realize, nevertheless, that their influence was waning with the passing years. As a result, a note of bitterness becomes especially marked in the writings of the younger man. His diary refers to a "silly people," a "foolish people," "insignificant lice" and the "darkness of this despicable town." He tells of how his "aged father laies to heart the withdrawal of a vain, proud, foolish people in his age." Both of the Mathers were out of sympathy with the spirit of their time and both of them experienced the loneliness of the fighter for dead issues and forsaken beliefs.

On February 13, 1728, Cotton Mather reached the end of his troubled pilgrimage. In the diary of Samuel Sewall, "the Puritan Pepys," we read of the last scene:

"Monday, February 19. Dr. Cotton Mather is entombed. Bearers, the Rev'd Mr. Colman, Mr. Thacher, Mr. Sewall, Prince, Mr. Webb, Cooper. The church went before the corps. First, the Rev. Mr. Gee in mourning alone, then three deacons, then Captain Hutchinson, Adam Winthrop, esqr., Colonel Hutchinson. Went up Hull Street. I went in a coach."

It is hard to discuss the life and character of Cotton Mather without unduly emphasizing his eccentricities. Many have regarded him as a typification of the most obnoxious phases of Puritanism. Some have called him "self-seeking, arrogant, inconsistent, mischievous and deluded." As our own generation passes through an unmistakable and unfortunate reaction against all of the characteristics of Puritanism, both good and bad, we are not inclined to find our heroes among Puritans. It is easier for us to joke about Mather's idiosyncrasies than it is to admire his indubitable virtues. There are those who sneeringly say, "What qualities did this man have which would cause anybody to look upon him as a man possessing any of the elements of greatness? What were his admirable characteristics?" Such questions are most emphatically worthy of a careful answer.

First, Cotton Mather was a real student. He had a genuine intellec-

tual curiosity and a deeply rooted love of learning. It could be said of him as of the Oxford clerk in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, "And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche." His library was famous for its size. By 1700 he had between two and three thousand books and the number was constantly increasing. Charles Chauncy has said that "there were scarcely any books written, but Mather had somehow or other got the sight of them." Although the major part of his library was naturally theological, he was widely read in the classics and an assiduous student of history. We know that he had read *Paradise Lost* and that he knew something at least of Chaucer. Thomas Prince in his preface to Samuel Mather's *Life of Cotton Mather* gives us some interesting information as to his method of dealing with books, saying, "He cared not to trouble himself with any but those that were likely to bring him something new, and so increase knowledge. In two or three minutes' turning through a volume he could easily tell whether it would make additions to the store of his ideas. If it could not, he quickly laid it by. If, otherwise, he read it . . . perusing those parts only that represented something novel, which he penciled as he went along, and at the end reduced the substance to his *Commonplaces* to be reviewed at leisure; and all this with wonderful celerity." Some of the most eminent scientists were glad to number him among their correspondents. That he stood high in the learned world is not to be disputed.

Secondly, according to the standards of his age, he was a great preacher. Evidence is not lacking from his own generation to prove that in the eyes of those who knew him he was one of the pillar pulpiteers of New England. His numerous enemies, as a rule, admitted his claim to pulpit ability. Sewall's diary, the great repository of information about this period, refers again and again to discourses by Dr. Cotton Mather. For the most part his sermons are not good reading. They are not written in the sinewy, pungent, galvanic style of his English contemporary, Dr. Robert South. He was a theological preacher and most of his theology is meaningless when it is not monstrous to the modern mind. Yet there are many intensely practical passages in his addresses. The casual student might not be able to understand how these sermons gripped the minds and hearts of men, but if we make an allowance for their fantastic English and extinct theology we find that they contain material which is indicative of high mentality and genuine spiritual insight. A preacher who could command the respect of the congregation of the North Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could be no intellectual dilettante. Calvinism bred logicians. People who could listen to three-hour sermons could not avoid thinking. The typical

member of Mather's congregation was a trained theologian. The man who preached to such men and women could not substitute amiability for ability. One can be certain from the very nature of things that the theologian who could win the admiration of Puritan audiences in the Boston of two hundred years ago was no mean preacher.

Thirdly, strange as it may seem to those who form their opinions of people on the basis of fragmentary and badly unauthenticated evidence, Cotton Mather was a man of kindly human sympathies and much personal charm. In the biography by Samuel Mather there is a convincing account of his graciousness and sincerity in his own home. John Bunyan has Christian describe Talkative as "A Saint abroad and a devil at home." Judging by the words of his son, Cotton Mather showed his noblest characteristics in his home life. The information in regard to his methods of dealing with his children is especially interesting:

"Thus every day at the table he used himself to tell some entertaining tale before he rose; and endeavor to make it useful to the olive-plants about the table. . . . The first chastisement which he would inflict for any ordinary fault was to let the child see and hear him in an astonishment, and hardly able to believe that the child could do so base a thing. . . . To be chased for awhile out of his presence, he would make to be looked upon as the sorest punishment in the family. . . . The slavish way of education, carried on with raving and kicking and scourging (in school as well as families) he looked upon as abominable and expressed a mortal aversion to it."

There have been, however, those who discounted Samuel Mather's eulogies of his father as the natural exaggerations of filial piety, but other information about the personality of Cotton Mather is not lacking. Thomas Prince, minister of the Old South Church during the last years of Mather's life, lays special stress on the fact that he was exceptionally good company. "He would always entertain us with ease and pleasure, even in his studying hour, as long as we pleas'd or cou'd venture to hinder him." He is also spoken of by Prince as "instructive, learned, pious and engaging . . . in his private converse superior company for the greatest of men" and "agreeable temper'd with a various mixture of wit and cheerfulness." His colleague, Joshua Gee, refers to "the capacity of his mind; the readiness of his wit, the vastness of his reading; the strength of his memory . . . the constant tenor of a most entertaining and profitable conversation." As a young man primarily interested in things mundane, Benjamin Franklin called on the venerable Mather and was graciously received. As Franklin was leaving he struck his head on the top of the door frame and Mather volunteered the advice: "You are young and have the world before you. Stoop as you go through and you will miss many a hard bump." Making all due allowance for contempo-

rary eulogy, we have every reason to believe that Mather was an approachable man, with a generosity of communication and a warmth of sympathy.

Fourthly, Mather's worst enemy never accused him of being lazy or frivolous. A man who could produce during his life-time over four hundred books and pamphlets in addition to being co-pastor of a great parish and engaging in multifarious other activities was certainly no chronic idler. Whatever his limitations were, Mather took life seriously. It has frequently been said by many in a parrot-like fashion that the faults of Puritanism are epitomized in Cotton Mather. Such a statement may not be devoid of truth, but the person who makes it does not show any lack of confidence in his own knowledge or judgment. It takes a highly competent student of the great movements of history to designate the virtues and the limitations of epoch-making, world-transforming systems of life and thought. But even if Mather did have some of the faults of his age and his nearer environment, justice would demand that we remember that he possessed to a marked degree some of those nobler characteristics which have made Puritanism the mightiest force in the life of the Anglo-Saxon race. Like Jonathan Edwards, another pre-eminent figure among American Puritans, Cotton Mather was "resolved to live with all his might while he did live." Two days before he died his son asked him what sentence or word he would have him think about constantly during the years that were to come and he replied, "Fructuous" (fruitful). And no student of the life of this Puritan priest can help being impressed with the fact that he labored earnestly and unweariedly that his life might not be spent in an eddy of purposeless dust.

Lastly, Cotton Mather was spiritually-minded. He was conscious of the primacy of the spiritual. Like John Bunyan he was a passionate idealist. To him the invisible world was as real as the streets of Boston. In the midst of time he did not forget eternity. Wendell has spoken of him as "the typical incarnation" of the New England of the fathers. When his grandfather, John Cotton, was lying on his deathbed he said to his attendants: "Draw the curtains and leave me alone. I would speak for awhile to the King." Bradford, Winthrop, Sewall, Edwards, and all of the other Puritans of those days of the long ago give many evidences in their writings of an ever-present realization of the guidance of men by a higher power. From the muddy pages of the *Magnalia* in an account of the life of Thomas Shepard, first minister of Cambridge, we glean these words:

"As he was a very studious person and a very lively preacher; and one who therefore took great pains in his preparations for his Publick Labours, which preparations he would usually finish on Saturday by two o'clock in the

afternoon, with respect whereunto he once used these words, 'God will curse that Man's Labours that lumbers up and down in the World all the week, and then upon Saturday, in the afternoon, goes to his Study; whereas God knows, that Time were little enough to pray in and weep in and get his Heart into a fit Frame for the Duties of the approaching Sabbath,' so the Character of his daily Conversation was a Trembling Walk with God."

Emerson says, "A man cannot speak but he judges himself." In Mather's description of another of the giants of the New England pulpit he expresses his own ideal, "a trembling walk with God." As we read the story of his life, as we turn the pages which came from his own prolific pen we cannot but feel that to this man who was laid to rest in the old Copp's Hill Burying Ground belongs a place among those who have had the Puritan vision of God.

CONTRARY WINDS

A WIND, blown with its frettings from the steep
And jutting crag, came in a gust to me,
Leaving its biting breath and agony
On face and soul, unresting as a deep
Distress of spirit on a moaning sea.
I bent like Peter in Gethsemane,
Whose faltering faith woke wild desires to leap
Into the abyss—had not one look to weep

Led him, and thought of keys he dare not toss.
Forspent, I wended heartsore to the Cross,
A pilgrim penitent, to lose my tears
In grief with him by whom our infinite years
Have hedging, and brief limitings of loss:
Then to a room where his tradewind appears.

WILLIAM FRANK MARTIN.

Bryan, O.

JOHN BUNYAN OF BEDFORD

LEWIS KEAST

Ishpeming, Mich.

JOHN BUNYAN was born at Elstow, a little village about a mile from the town of Bedford, England, in the year 1628; consequently we shall soon be celebrating the tercentenary of his birth. He was contemporary with John Milton and Richard Baxter. John Milton was twenty years of age when Bunyan was born, and Richard Baxter had just turned thirteen. These were times when great souls were born and characters of sterling weight and worth were developed. It was an era both rare and romantic.

Dr. G. M. Trevelyan in his recent *History of England* characterizes the centuries forming the background of Bunyan's advent into the world in a very vivid and eloquent passage as follows: "In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the church refused every concession, effected no reform, and called in brute force to repress heresy. If an opposite course had been followed; if the rights of the sanctuary and benefit of the clergy had been modified; if ecclesiastical property had been redistributed more fairly to the poor parson; if priests had been permitted to marry their wives as in Saxon times; if the Pope had ceased to job rich places of the church for foreign favorites; if the ecclesiastical authorities had withdrawn their countenance from the sale of pardons and relics and other superstitious practices that revolted the better sort of the laity, orthodox as well as heretic; if the church had ceased to make a trade of spying on the lives of the laity in order to extract fines for sin; and, finally, if Lollardy had been tolerated as Dissent—there would have been religious *evolution* spread over several countries instead of religious revolution which we know as the Reformation."

Coming up to the century in which Bunyan was born the times were no less stirring. In the latter part of the sixteenth century and in the early days of the seventeenth century England was ablaze with brilliancy. Other historians tell us: "Russell and Sydney were dreaming of freedom; Blake secured the empire of the ocean, and the chivalric Falkland fought and fell. In those stirring times Charnock and Owen, and Howe and Henry, and Baxter wrote, and preached, and prayed. Cudworth and Henry Moore were still living at Cambridge; South was at Oxford; Prideaux in the close at Norwich, and Whitby in the close at Salisbury. Sherlock preached at the Temple, Tillotson at Lincoln's Inn, Burnet at

the Rolls, Stillingfleet at Saint Paul's Cathedral, and Beveridge at Saint Peter's, Cornhill. Men who could set forth the majesty and beauty of Christianity with such justness of thought and such energy of language that indolent Charles roused himself to listen, and the fastidious Buckingham forgot to sneer!" In an era as above described and among men of such intellectual brilliancy Bunyan, though born in poverty and want, both lived and died. This was a day when Cromwell was creating a new Commonwealth and Baxter was building anew the kingdom of God at Kidderminster. He, with those who were great masters of rhetoric and logic, kindled a burning and shining light which was unquestionably for the glory of Christ. Aside from Shakespeare and Milton possibly there is not another who has exercised such a tremendous influence over the Christian world as John Bunyan.

Mr. Emerson sets forth the fact in his *Representative Men* "that the truly great man is the one who never reminds you of others, and that the underlying element of all true greatness is goodness, that when intellect is brought into the presence of character, the flame of character burns with a steadier and nobler radiance." It is in this underlying truth that we shall find the true brilliancy of Bunyan. The light which "never shone on land or sea" was ever shining in his heart. It were the height of folly to attempt any other explanation of the life of so great a man as John Bunyan. The very dungeon in which he was incarcerated became illuminated by the brilliancy of his soul. In Bunyan lies the very epitome of evangelical humanism.

Concerning Bunyan's parents we know very little except that his father was a poor traveling tinker of Elstow. Sir Walter Scott and many others often contended that he came of gypsy forbears, but there is little to support this theory. As Bunyan himself tells us, he came from "a low and inconsiderable generation, and my father's house was of that rank that is meanest and most despised of all the families in the land, but notwithstanding the meanness and inconsiderableness of my parents it pleased God to put into their hearts to put me to school to learn both to read and to write, the which I also attained according to the rate of other men's children; yet, to my shame, I confess I did soon lose that little I learned, even almost utterly."

Bunyan as a boy is said to have been of high temperament and subject to fits of passion. But this is not strange. That youth is moody is more or less true of every age; it is especially true in the lives of great men. Lincoln and Napoleon were given to moody periods in their youth. Napoleon once said: "I go back that I may give myself to my lonely dreams and to the waves of my melancholy." But this is no place for

a genius—he would never stay there. Napoleon is never known to have shirked his task.

But coming to maturity, his mental conflicts became more violent, almost maddening at times. Often he would lose his temper and use such language that would shame the most reprobate of that day. It is not strange that his nights were troubled with dreams of terror. One day a woman of questionable repute is said to have shook with fear at his profanity and severely reprimanded him for using such vile epithets. In 1645, when only seventeen years of age, he was drafted as a soldier in the Civil War, and the fact of his joining the army by no means helped him to better living. Later we are told that one who served in Bunyan's stead fell in action. Possibly the falling of his friend quickened his better conscience; however this may be, he discovered that if a man is to "come back" it requires a power that is greater than the discipline of the army. Training is often *corrective*, but not often *converting*. Bunyan knew that what he most needed was a change of heart.

Someone has said that he might have been led into the new life through the "pungency of a powerful sermon, or the reproof of an abandoned woman; or what is like a lured vision of the night." We know, however, that through these days of doubt and transformation he came in contact with that holy man, Mr. Gifford, who was at that time Baptist minister at Bedford, and, who, afterwards, Bunyan impersonated as Evangelist in his immortal book, *Pilgrim's Progress*. These two, Bunyan and his friend and pastor, studied together Luther's Notes on that wonderful letter of Saint Paul to the Galatians. This man of God made unceasing prayer for Bunyan and it was not long after their association that he received him into the membership of the Baptist church of Bedford.

But we cannot conclude this phase of Bunyan's life and the changing of his career without including his own testimony to his wife. He says: "My mercy was to light upon a wife whose father was counted godly. In matters of household stuff we had not so much as a dish or a spoon between us both, yet she had for her part:

The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven
and

The Practice of Piety—

which her father had left her when he died."

Whatever agency God may have used in bringing Bunyan back to that type of manhood which we love to know and remember, of this we may be sure, that it was a power other than that which is earthly. For weeks together he tells us that he tried to escape the convicting power of

this little text of scripture: "Yet there is room"; but it followed him in spite of all his fateful wanderings. "These were sweet words to me," he would say in giving testimony for Christ; and who knows but that the light which shone on Saul of Tarsus on the Damascus Road brought life and liberty to Bunyan. Certainly he shared in the glory which was no less splendid. On no other ground can we explain the halo of his holy life, the fire of his eye, and the passion of his soul.

Scarcely had Bunyan received the "Good News" and appropriated the Word in ways of holy living than there came to him a deep conviction to preach the Gospel. It is not unlikely that because of his wonderful achievement in the world of literature his preaching has been given little prominence; but he preached often and with power. How wonderful and illuminating are the words that he puts into the mouth of Evangelist: "Then said Evangelist, pointing with his finger over a very wide field, 'Do you see yonder wicket-gate?' The man said: 'No.' Then said the other: 'Do you see yonder shining light?' He said: 'I think I do.' Then said Evangelist: 'Keep that light in your eye, and go up directly thereto, so shalt thou see the gate; at which, when thou knockest, it shall be told thee what thou shalt do.'" From these words can we not see Bunyan the preacher? And, oh, what preaching! Standing as it were on the Delectable Mountains his eye of fire would catch the splendors of the New Jerusalem and from that vantage point he would call sinners to the shining way, and weary Pilgrims traveling through the wilderness of this world, into the new life hid with Christ in God! A thought for the preacher of to-day.

About the popularity of Bunyan as a preacher there can be no doubt for even in the days of bitter persecution hundreds gathered to hear him. His fame spread far and wide. On one occasion in the city of London twelve hundred people came to hear him on a cold winter's morning at seven o'clock! The following Sunday there were three thousand people to hear him preach! And if this obtained in the days of Civil War and of prevailing persecution can we not imagine what it would have been if Bunyan enjoyed the liberty and freedom which prevailed in the days of Wesley and Whitefield? Being complimented one Sunday morning on the sermon he had preached he said: "Aye! Aye! ye not remind me of that, for the devil told me that before I left the pulpit."

Whether we study Bunyan's sermons or the books which he wrote we at once discover a clear, versatile and discriminating mind. Every discourse seems to be constructed on a definite plan with one great predominating purpose in view. He is sometimes painfully exhaustive in his outlines. On one occasion he remarks: "But to be brief, let us give a more

particular description in these twenty-five particulars." After these are given he says: "There might be many more added, but for brevity sake I omit."

The discriminating character of Bunyan's mind is seen not only in the construction of the sermons which he preached but in the men who made up his immortal book. Bunyan's characters are basic and fundamental. Like the scientist he aims to present the universal. Old Obstinate and Pliable are still with us, and Mr. Simple and Worldly Wiseman. As a recent writer remarks: "They lived yesterday, they live to-day, they will live to-morrow."

Dr. Arthur Porter, in a recently published book entitled, *The Inside of Bunyan's Dream*, remarks concerning Bunyan's marvelous universality:

"Bunyan here leaps centuries beyond his time. We are somewhat shocked that Pilgrim is not asked concerning his acceptance of certain beliefs. Bunyan's day was marked by an insistent theology. It was well defined and within the church. No gate swung open until intellectual assent had been solemnly promised to certain cardinal doctrines. Bunyan was a Spiritual Vagabond. He was without category. He defied classification. He had come a long hard road himself, and being untutored he had failed to theologize his experience. He could not theologize it, so he speaks through Evangelist with simplicity and directness. By doing so Bunyan puts into the mouth of Evangelist the most fundamental law of spiritual progress. No Pilgrim on the highway to life abundant can neglect that law and make progress. It is the summary of all achievement in every walk of life. For spiritual, mental and physical progress there is nowhere in all literature a more cryptic and practical statement of the law than is contained in the advice of Evangelist to Pilgrim: *Keep that light in your eye—so shalt thou see the gate.*"

"This advice marks the road to all success, all achievement, all growth. Pilgrim is to make for the light which he does see in order that he may come to the gate which he does not see. This is the law of all spiritual capital. Jesus the Christ stated the law in another form when he said: 'For he that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.' The path to further light is to use the light we have. It may be only a flicker, a glimmer that marks nothing definite, but salvation comes to him who is faithful and sincere at the threshold of purpose. It is the fundamental law of use or lose. Christ said all men will find the true light if they keep a single eye."

But what of Bunyan's picture-painting, his character delineations? for here too we see that clear discriminating mind at work. Nowhere do we miss his faithful dealing with men. Doctor Porter, speaking of the contrast between Pliable and Obstinate, says:

"Pliable's reaction to Christian is Pliable's best commentary upon himself. 'If what the good Christian says is true—my heart inclines to go with my neighbor.' Obstinate's first word is 'What!' Pliable's first word is 'If!' His word indicates the open mind, but the unsteady will. Pliable is willing to go

because what Christian says sounds plausible. As he admits himself his heart is moved. He is emotionally aroused. He is too easily aroused. . . . Obstinate has will, Pliable has heart. In the words of Pascal, 'The heart hath reasons that the head knows not of,' but the head is the necessary balance wheel to the reasons of the heart. A religion all heart is always in danger of degenerating into fanaticism. It is never safe. It has no sustaining power along the lonely road. It may plunge one any moment into a fit of laughter or sink one into a vale of tears. Hysteria is not impossible in such cases. It needs a crowd to sustain it. It always shrinks from Gethsemane."

In Bunyan's words let us not play with one side, "or the outside of the dream." Turning from the negative side of this character study to the more positive we see the beautiful relationship which existed between Christian and Faithful: "Now as Christian went on his way, he came to a little ascent. . . . Looking forward he saw Faithful before him, upon his journey. Then said Christian aloud 'Ho! ho! soho! stay, and I will be your companion!' . . . But Faithful answered, 'No, I am upon my life, and the avenger of blood is behind me.'" Christian now quickens his pace and "he had gotten the start of his brother; but not taking good heed to his feet, he suddenly stumbled and fell, and could not rise again until Faithful came to help him. Then I saw in my dream, they went very lovingly on together." One cannot but help thinking of the Emmaus road: "And did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?"

It was Bunyan's public work that caused him to be imprisoned. He was preaching near Harlington, on the twelfth of November, 1660, when the constable entered the chapel and arrested him as an offender of the newly revived "Act of Uniformity." The authorities tried to make him promise that he would abstain from preaching, but he said: "If you let me out to-day I will preach again to-morrow," so deep was his conviction to preach the Word. As John Morley says: "*Intrinsic conviction* is the mainstay of human advancement." It must be no less true in our spiritual lives and in preaching in particular.

A Quaker called on Bunyan one day with a message from the Lord, saying he had been to half of the jails in England, and was glad at last to have found him. To which Bunyan replied: "If the Lord sent thee you not have needed to take so much trouble to find me out, for he knew that I had been in Bedford jail these seven years past!" In all Bunyan languished in prison for twelve years and six months and he knew the meaning of the words:

"Great truths are dearly bought, not formed by chance,
Not wafted on the breath of summer dream;
But grasped in the great struggle of the soul,
Hard buffeting with adverse wind and stream."

While prison conditions at the best were very uncomfortable and unsanitary, it would appear that at times they were greatly exaggerated, surely in the matter of solitary confinement, for Bunyan was given much freedom and allowed many liberties with his family and friends.

The first part of the world's greatest allegory was written during the period of Bunyan's imprisonment. Macaulay said: "During the latter half of the seventeenth century there were only two minds that possessed the imaginative faculty in a very eminent degree. One of them produced *Paradise Lost*—the other *The Pilgrim's Progress*." Bunyan wrote sixty books in all, one for every year of his life. To carefully appraise Bunyan as an author we should study not only his great allegories but all his books. We shall do well to read: *The Holy City*, *Grace Abounding* and the *Holy War*. Many literary critics have called the *Holy War*, with its wonderful pictures of the city of Mansoul, second only to *Pilgrim's Progress*. It is the second best allegory in the world. It is unnecessary to speak in praise of the *Pilgrim's Progress*; that book is its own interpreter. Here little children and grown men and women, the learned and the unlearned, can read with profit, for we are all Pilgrims. We are often asked to recommend books for little children; here is one that should never be omitted.

As an example of simplicity turn to the words of the shepherd boy: "Now, as they were going along and talking, they espied a boy feeding his father's sheep. The boy was in very mean clothes, but of a fresh well-favored countenance; and as he sat by himself he sung:

"He that is down need fear no fall;
He that is low no pride;
He that is humble ever shall
Have God to be his guide."

The heart of Bunyan is best seen in his love for humanity. He was always faithful in his dealing with men and ever solicitous for their souls. This is the secret of his sympathy and his earnest conviction. He had a will to work at the foundation of things. Concerning his high calling he said:

"My heart has been wrapped up in the glory of this excellent work that I counted myself more blessed and honored of God by this, than if he had made me the emperor of the Christian world, or the lord of all the glory of the earth without it. In my preaching I have really been in pain, and have as it were, travailed to bring forth children to God. If I were fruitless it mattered not who commended me; but if I were fruitful I cared not who condemned me."

Was it not Fenelon who said: "Not to love is not to live; to love feebly is to languish rather than live." Bunyan loved his family. Though

separated and in prison many years, his wife and four children, one of whom, a little girl, was blind, came often to visit him. They lingered with him while he read to them from the Book, and led in prayer. For the little blind girl he seems to have had something more than a fatherly affection—his love for her was divine. Often when walking in the winter wind he would wrap his own cloak about her to shelter her from the cold. He loved her with an everlasting love.

This same sweet spirit of love and sympathy is expressed in all that Bunyan wrote. Although his books were written in an age of keenest controversy there is not a single sign of bitterness about them. One is reminded of the word of Edith Cavell in the days of the war: "There must be something more than patriotism—there must be no hatred." Bunyan's writings are not only characterized by beautiful simplicity, there is no enmity, he is never ungracious, surly or sullen. He is reported to have said: "If it were lawful, I would ever pray for greater trouble, for the greater comfort's sake."

It was in the latter part of 1668 that John Bunyan set out for Reading on an errand of mercy. He was caught in a rain storm, and being in a weak state of health fever set in, and in a few days this weary Pilgrim of the shining way entered in through the gates into the City. His last words were: "Take me, for I come to Thee." They buried his mortal body in the famous burying ground of the Dissenters at Bunhill Fields, there to await the dawning of the final resurrection morning when all the dead in Christ shall rise to eternal glory.

THE THEOLOGY OF CRISIS—II

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It would seem, however, that the bridge must at least have a buttress on the human side, and this buttress we are accustomed to call faith. But what is faith? Barth's and Brunner's answers to this question we must first consider before we can complete the discussion of their conception of revelation.

FAITH

According to traditional Protestant teaching revelation is something objectively complete in itself, an event or series of events that belong to the past. It can be fully appropriated only by faith, but faith is not necessary to complete it. It is embodied in a divinely inspired book and as such has an independent and thinglike existence. Its innermost meaning, it is true, can be grasped only with the aid of the Divine Spirit; but grasped it can be by the human mind when thus aided; and the act by which it is truly grasped is called faith. Whether faith is at bottom a human or divine act or both, is a question which has been much discussed. But, however that question may be answered, faith has commonly been interpreted in psychological terms and from this point of view has been regarded as complex in nature, consisting of volitional, emotional and cognitive elements. It has expressed itself in the form of submission, of assurance, and of belief or knowledge. One of these factors has usually been stressed more than the other two—people in that respect have differed—but all three have generally been looked upon as inherent in true Christian faith. Such faith implies revelation and is essential to its appropriation. But revelation does not require faith in order to complete itself; it found its completion in Scripture.

This traditional Protestant conception of revelation has been gradually undergoing a change since the time of Kant. The great Königsberger showed once for all that knowledge presupposes the creative activity of thought. Without such activity on the part of the recipient mind no communication of truth would be possible. Communication presupposes response. No revelation can, therefore, be purely objective. It becomes complete and so a real revelation only through the answering and conditioning mind to which it is addressed. Translated into the language of theology this means, as Schleiermacher pointed out, that faith

is essential to revelation. Not only is it necessary as the recipient of revelation, it is necessary as the means by which the content of revelation is determined. Revelation is communicated to us through the Bible but it is not identical with the Bible. What the revelational element in Scripture is, faith alone can sense and decide. Revelation thus loses its independent and static character and becomes correlative to faith. One implies the other, and each is determined in its nature and content by the other.

This modern conception of the relation of faith and revelation to each other is accepted by Barth and Brunner. But they depart from the modern and common view of faith in two important respects. First, they deny that faith can be construed in psychological terms. It is not knowledge, nor is it feeling, nor is it will. It is rather the negation of everything that is human. It is a "miracle," a "vacuum," a "leap into the void." These and many similar expressions are used to bring out the unique and super-psychological character of faith. Special animus is shown against Schleiermacher, whom they refer to rather contemptuously as "the theological Paganini" because of his stress on feeling as the characteristic thing in faith. This animus appears particularly with Brunner,²⁵ though the others share to a large degree his point of view. They look upon Schleiermacher as the source of most if not all evil in modern theology. His whole standpoint they reject as anthropocentric. But it is especially his pietistic view of faith to which they object. They reject, of course, also the rationalistic and purely volitional conceptions of faith. Faith, they hold, is something superhuman, divine. Barth even goes so far as to say that in faith it is God who hears.²⁶ Hearer and speaker thus become one, and revelation consists in God's conversing with himself. But this is to deny real revelation, for revelation must have a human objective. What Barth must then mean is that faith is the work of the Holy Spirit in those whom God has elected.

But this brings faith into the human sphere, and some sort of definite psychological or spiritual character must, it would seem, be ascribed to it. It is nothing "given," we are told; we do not even know when we have it; we can only "believe *that* we believe."²⁷ Still the effort is made, especially by Brunner, to bring faith into intelligible relation to known mental processes. An analogy is found in the objective reference of thought, its "intention" or meaning. The meaning as such is no part of the temporal flow, it is super-temporal; and so it is with faith. Faith, like thought, has

²⁵ *Die Mystik und das Wort*.

²⁶ *Zwischen den Zeiten*, 1925, pp. 231, 241.

²⁷ *Römerbrief*, p. 128.

its psychological accompaniments, but these accompaniments have nothing to do with the essential nature of either faith or thought. Both are above time and distinct from the psychical material that attends them. They both belong to "spirit," which is timeless; and both are self-evidencing. They differ in the objects to which they refer. The objective reference of faith is to God, and the act of reference has a divine source, as is not the case with rational thought, at least not in the same direct way. But rational thought is nevertheless "spirit." Brunner even says that "reason is the divine part of man."²⁸ We thus have two forms of "spirit" or of the Logos, one finite and the other absolute. Between these there is a certain antithesis, but there is also the suggestion of an underlying unity. In any case the antithesis is not by any means so sharp and absolute as that between "time and eternity." The latter allows of no mediation, but according to Brunner faith as a form of spirit is a connecting link between the human and the divine.

Faith conceived after the analogy of the objective reference in thought takes on an intellectual character, and in harmony with this Brunner interprets revelation as truth. The truth of revelation he distinguishes sharply from that of reason but he regards both as alike in this respect that they are super-historical, even anti-historical. Yet in spite of the anti- or super-historical character of revelation he insists on its "oneness."

Here it is that we come upon the second important difference between the "dialectic" and the common conception of faith. As ordinarily understood, the faith of to-day is separated by nineteen centuries from the historical revelation of God in Christ Jesus. The two stand in a causal and correlative relation to each other. Our faith owes its origin to the revelation in Scripture, and Scriptural revelation would to-day have no vitality or reality if there were no faith. But the two are widely separated in time, so that it would seem absurd and meaningless to assert their contemporaneity. Yet that is exactly what Brunner and his friends do. "There is," we are told, "no historical continuity of revelation but only a paradoxical unity of that which occurred only once with the present, the contemporaneity of faith with revelation. . . . The word of God in Scripture is identical with the Word of God in the soul."²⁹ How this is possible we do not and cannot know. The identity of Scripture and Spirit is "paradoxical and unthinkable." But if so, why assert it? Brunner would say, Because it is the Reformation conception of faith, and then would add that it conserves what is true both in orthodoxy and

²⁸ *Philosophie und Offenbarung*, p. 39.

²⁹ *Religionsphilosophie Evangelischer Theologie*, p. 9.

rationalism. It combines the authority of a miraculous *Deus dixit* with a timeless truth which is self-evidencing. But this combination is held together by no cement, logical or otherwise. It is a house divided against itself and cannot stand. Either traditional authoritarianism will eventually get the upper hand or some form of immediacy, rationalistic or mystical. The human mind cannot permanently remain perched on a paradox.

The difficulty with the Barthian conception of revelation and faith is that it owes its origin to a philosophy alien to that of Scripture. The "endless qualitative difference" between time and eternity is no teaching of the apostle Paul. Barth read the idea into the Pauline epistles and then deduced his view of revelation from it. It was not then revelation that gave him his cosmological dualism, but his dualism that gave him his theory of revelation. This dualism, as we have already pointed out, had various sources, but in the exposition of it by Barth and Brunner it is closely linked up with the logistic neo-Kantianism of Herrmann Cohen. Brunner in particular employs the latter in the development of his doctrine of faith. This type of philosophy is positivistic and in that respect a natural foil to a supernaturalistic theology. But the spirit of the two is antagonistic, one to the other. It is this fact that gives rise to the paradoxical and contradictory character of the Barthian theology. Its dialectic, as Harnack says, "leads us along an invisible ledge between absolute religious skepticism and naïve biblicism."³⁰ This will be still further illustrated by its doctrine of God, man, and Christ.

God

Barth and his associates put God most emphatically at the center of their theology. Indeed, they aim to make their theology more completely and absolutely theocentric than has ever been done before. This is one of their chief merits, that they have taken the thought of God seriously and have given to it that overshadowing significance which properly belongs to it in religion but which it has been in danger of losing. The motto of their entire theology might be said to be *Deo soli gloria*.

But what do they mean by God? So many paradoxical and contradictory things are said about him that at first one is puzzled to know what they do mean. It is, however, clear that they start with an idea of God derived from or rather suggested by a positivistic and relativistic philosophy. They are, as already stated, neo-Kantians of the Marburg type. Knowledge for them is restricted to the phenomenal or temporal

³⁰ *Die Christliche Welt*, 1923, col. 305.

order. This order points to an eternal being beyond itself but only points toward it or him. The Eternal remains of necessity unknown. He is the Absolute, out of all relations, and hence beyond the reach of human knowledge. We are justified in asserting his existence, but beyond that we may not go. He is "known as the Unknown," and only so known. Even revelation does not remove the cloud that surrounds him. "God is incomprehensible," says Barth,³¹ "even in his revelation, yes, precisely in his revelation." He is and ever remains *Deus absconditus*. Revelation does not rob him of that character. But if so, what is the value of revelation? A revelation that does not reveal would seem to be a contradiction in itself.

The difficulty at this point is partly removed by the sharp distinction drawn between knowledge and faith. Faith is not knowledge; in one sense it is the negation of knowledge. It is because knowledge is impossible that faith is necessary. Revelation, therefore, which is addressed to faith, does not increase knowledge. Faith is even defined as "respect for the divine Incognito." It does not seek to unveil the veiled. In the very presence of revelation we may, therefore, say that we do not know God.

But this is only half the story. Faith may have its negative but it also has its positive side. It may imply more or less of agnosticism, but it also implies knowledge. God may in a certain sense be to us the Unknown, but faith nevertheless apprehends him as the Creator, Judge, and Redeemer of the world. This Barth admits and affirms. He could not do otherwise and remain a Christian. The question, consequently, arises as to what is to be done with this positive content of faith. How is a place to be found for it alongside of such an extreme agnosticism as Barth represents?

He himself seems to handle the problem in two different ways. First, he interprets creation, judgment, and redemption, so far as possible, in the light of his own ontological dialectic. God, he tells us, has created the world and has left his tracks there, but they are "the tracks of an Unknown." He is in no sense immanent in the world, nor is the world a reflection of his power and character as we would expect it to be, if it were his work. The doctrine of creation has, therefore, no special significance for Barth. He hardly does more than give formal assent to it. For him the world is a fallen world. It has lost the marks of the divine handiwork. It is so completely woven of the warp and woof of time as to be antithetical to Deity rather than in any sense an image of him.

This antithesis of the world to God brings out the thought of the

³¹ *Zwischen den Zeiten*, 1925, p. 121.

divine judgment, but judgment, as conceived by Barth, is abstract and metaphysical rather than concrete and ethical. It is a judgment which eternity passes upon time, rather than a judgment passed by a righteous Judge upon a willful misdoer. What brings condemnation upon the world is its finitude rather than its moral perversity. Over against the world of time stands eternity as a limit, a threat, a crisis, as death. "Death," says Barth, "is the only genuine revelation of God in history." But if so, what becomes of the personal, righteous Ruler of the world and the Redeemer of mankind? He loses all definiteness of character and is merged in an abstract and incomprehensible eternity. What he really is we do not know. All we know, as Barth says, is "that God is he whom we do not know." The Barthian theology of revelation becomes thus a theology of the Unknown God. The attributes of righteousness and love are ascribed to him, but they are so submerged in the all-pervading thought of a cosmological crisis that their biblical lineaments are often lost to view.

This, of course, was not Barth's aim. He has sought to revive the idea of the divine sovereignty, and has expressed it with tremendous energy in an extreme form. In doing so he has availed himself of an agnostic type of philosophy, but this does not mean that he himself is an agnostic with reference to the divine love and righteousness. He thinks that these attributes have of late been stressed in a onesided way, and hence his tendency has been to subordinate them in an equally onesided way to the thought of the absolute and incomprehensible sovereignty of God. But he has had no intention of obliterating or obscuring them. That he has seemed to do so has grown out of the effort to bring his theology into harmony with his philosophical skepticism.

There is, however, another method that he has adopted in his attempt to adjust his theology to its agnostic setting. This is the dialectic method in the logical sense of the term. According to the dialectic logic the negative and the positive imply each other. We cannot define existence without reference to non-existence nor non-existence without reference to existence. Now Barth says it is so also with judgment and grace. The divine No implies the divine Yes, and the divine Yes the divine No. But here we are unable to follow Barth. The divine doom does not necessarily carry with it the divine favor nor the divine favor the divine doom. Logically they may suggest each other but as ethical acts they are distinct. We cannot deduce the divine love from the divine judgment, and still less can we deduce it from the bare idea of eternity. The element of truth in Barth's contention is this that the consciousness of sin and judgment, as Schleiermacher pointed out, is relative to that of grace.

But this is merely a psychological fact, not a logical or ontological relation.

We must then pronounce Barth's attempted synthesis of the biblical idea of God with the great Unknown of philosophical agnosticism as unsuccessful. God cannot be known at one and the same time both as absolutely unknown and as the God of grace and truth, and no logical dialectic can make such a contradictory affirmation tolerable to the human mind.

MAN

Barth's doctrine of man is the correlate of his doctrine of God. Both are determined by the assumed "endless qualitative difference between time and eternity," and both are involved in difficulties and inconsistencies because of the effort to combine this fundamental and radical dualism with biblical teaching. Three points in particular may be noted in connection with the "dialectic" conception of man.

First, sinfulness is attributed to all men, and it is attributed to them not because of the offenses which they have actually committed but because of their finitude, because they are temporal beings. This is a "fallen" world, and it is such because it is a temporal as distinguished from an eternal world. How it "fell" we do not know. The biblical story is a myth. But the fact of a fall is one involved in the nature of time. Between time and eternity, between man and God, there is a death-line, a "live" wire that stands as a perpetual threat to any human being who approaches it. All that is temporal is under the doom of the eternal; and this means that all men are "children of wrath." They are sinners, and sinners they must remain so long as they are men. Sin is of the essence of human nature.

But if so, sin would seem to lose its ethical character. It may manifest itself in a "lack of reverence" and in "disobedience," but in its essential nature it becomes something sub-ethical, a condition of our existence rather than a state of our will. In other words, the antithesis between man and God is primarily metaphysical, not ethical. But this is a Greek, not a Hebrew conception. Barth's attempt to read it into the Pauline epistles and into Scripture in general must be pronounced a failure. However deeply sin may be ingrained in human nature according to biblical teaching, it is never identified with human finitude. Such a metaphysical dualism is excluded by the doctrine of creation.

A second point to be noted in Barth's anthropology is his denial of freedom. This denial has a double source, one religious, the other philosophical. The religious source is Calvinism. Barth is a Calvinist.

A hyper-Calvinist he might be called. He holds to double predestination. He regards God as so absolutely sovereign that no real human initiative is possible. The only good thing possible to man is faith, and faith is a divine, not a human, act. So far as man is concerned faith denotes pure passivity, emptiness, a vacuum. Man himself has no capacity for God: *finitum non capax infiniti*. Everything in man is dependent on God. This view has a manifest basis in *one* phase of religious feeling, and with Barth this one phase overshadows all others.

The philosophical source of his denial of human freedom is found in neo-Kantianism. According to Cohen and Natorp, who in this respect follow Kant, the causal principle is all-pervasive in the phenomenal world. Every event in space or time is determined by its relation to other events. Psychological events are as completely determined by their causal connections as are physical events. There can, therefore, be no human freedom in the commonly accepted sense of the term. Man as an empirical being is effect, not cause.

But if this be so, the logical result would be religious nihilism. Both reason and conscience would be involved in disaster. Only in freedom can a rational basis be found for the ideals of life. Naturalistic necessitarianism would mean the end of religious faith. Neither paradox nor an irrational dialectic can prevent its having such a result.

A third point of difficulty in Barth's conception of man has to do with the relation of the empirical or temporal ego to the believing ego, the ego of eternal life. For he holds firmly to the latter. His is a *Jenseitigkeits Theologie*. He does not mean to abate a jot or tittle the reality of the life hereafter. But if there is an absolute qualitative difference between time and eternity, if the temporal and empirical self is doomed to complete extinction, if the new ego is something totally different from the old,³² how are we to conceive of the connection between them, what is the basis of any continuity of consciousness, what value and content are we to ascribe to the life to come from the standpoint of the life that now is? To these questions Barth and his friends have no answer. To them it is all "miracle" in the sense that no rational construction of the belief is possible. The life hereafter is a logically contradictory conception. We believe it "because it is absurd."

CHRIST

In the field of Christology the difficulties inherent in the dialectic theology are perhaps still more evident. Barth and his friends are Christo-centric in their interest. To them Christ is the Word of God.

³² *Römerbrief*, pp. 186, 189, 192f., etc.

The incarnation, atonement, and resurrection are points of fundamental importance in their theology. But how are these doctrines to be harmonized with the endless qualitative difference between time and eternity?

The only way to do this, manifestly, is to distinguish sharply between Jesus and Christ; and this the Barthians do. Jesus as man is for them merely a temporal being, a "sinner" like other men. He stands under the doom of death. Whether the facts of his life are correctly recorded in the gospels is not a matter of any importance. Certainty here is impossible. His earthly career in any case was an "historical fiasco,"³³ a failure. Christ "according to the flesh" means very little to us. He was not "the Word of God," but only an indirect medium of revelation like the rest of us. We are not then to think of him as a hero or a genius or "an earnest public man, almost as earnest as a preacher." (Kierkegaard.) His significance was negative and consisted simply in the fact that his life pointed toward an Unknown, a super-historical being. In this higher imperceptible realm lies the whole value of the gospel and the gospel-story. Not even the resurrection of Christ is an historical datum. As an event of history it is open to question and can be dissolved away into myth. The real resurrection lies beyond time and space. It is an event to which the gospel-narratives in parabolic fashion refer, but which is itself inaccessible to sense. It appertains, in a word, to the eternal Christ rather than the historical Jesus.

But if so, does not Jesus become a mere symbol of the truth instead of the truth itself? And does not this mean a return to the older rationalistic standpoint? Does it not mean that it is a matter of indifference whether Jesus ever lived? Adam, according to Barth,³⁴ is a symbol of the divine No, regardless of whether he ever lived or not; and if so, it would seem that Jesus also might be the symbol of the divine Yes, regardless of the question of his historicity. But this is a conclusion which Barth emphatically repudiates. Jesus is for him an historical reality and a reality of supreme importance. In him two worlds meet. He is the point of intersection between the temporal and the eternal, the known and the unknown. Through him God reveals himself. Revelation belongs, therefore, to a definite period of time, to the years 1-30 A. D.³⁵ The resurrection as a recognized event took place "before the gates of Jerusalem in the year 30." "In the resurrection," says Barth, "the new world of the Holy Spirit touches the old world of the flesh. But it touches it as a tangent does a circle, without touching it, and by virtue of the very fact

³³ E. Brunner, *Mystik und das Wort*, p. 226.

³⁴ *Römerbrief*, pp. 151, 158.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

that it does *not* touch it, it touches it as its limit, as a *new world*.³⁶ Exactly what he means by this is not clear. But it would seem that he means that the eternal resurrection-life is somehow revealed in the bodily resurrection of Jesus. In a similar way the invisible grace of God is made visible in Jesus' death. The bodily resurrection of Jesus is thus as historically real as his death, and both are essential to the revelation of God. But if so, what becomes of Barth's historical relativism, of his indifference to biblical criticism? It is evident that we have here another instance of his attempt to combine two irreconcilable standpoints. If we hold strictly to the endless qualitative difference between time and eternity with its implied philosophical agnosticism, Jesus was at the most a symbol, nothing more. If we hold to historic Christianity, he stood in a real and unique relation to Christ the eternal Logos. The first of these views makes his historical reality a matter of indifference, the second makes it essential to the Christian faith. Between them we must choose. We cannot hold to both, as Barth seems to, without complete intellectual befuddlement.

CONCLUSION

What are we now to say of this new theology as a whole? The chief objections to it we have already noted. Its *proton pseudos* is its ontological dialectic, its fundamental dualism between time and eternity or between man and God. This dualism is based on the supposed logical antithesis between the two terms. But the relation of God to the world is not logical; it is volitional. Creation binds the two together and makes forever impossible an absolute antithesis between them except on the assumption of a "fall" more abysmal than any that Christian thought could tolerate. There is, it is true, in Christian feeling a sense of sinfulness that raises a barrier between the soul and God, but this feeling is offset by the belief in providence and by an ennobling sense of moral responsibility that tends to re-establish the broken unity. In any case it is wholly unwarranted to take the Christian consciousness of sin and translate it into an ontological dualism.

A second objection to the Barthian theology is to be found in its alliance with philosophical positivism or skepticism. This alliance may seem to accentuate the need of a divine revelation and so augment reverence for the Word of God; but it is only a half-hearted adherence to this type of philosophy that has such an effect. The doctrine of relativism, logically carried out, undermines faith as completely as it does reason. If reason is not trustworthy beyond the phenomenal realm, there

³⁶ *Römerbrief*, p. 8.

is no valid ground for holding that "faith" is. The two stand or fall together. A theology that feeds on philosophical skepticism will perish thereby.

A third objection to the dialectic theology is the deep inner discord that runs through the whole system. The word "dialectic" suggests it. This discord grows out of the effort to combine the Reformation type of Protestantism with the current positivistic philosophy. The two refuse to coalesce. One contradicts the other, and so a perpetual see-saw of thesis and antithesis, of Yes and No, results. Paradox follows paradox in an endless series. The mind comes to no rest. Not even faith attains security. It has no anchor; it swings free. It is a leap over a precipice, and leaves its subject insecurely suspended above a yawning abyss. This view of faith and of reason has no doubt its challenging feature, but it is hardly a view that in the long run can be said to be conducive to mental or spiritual health. Truth does not lie in contradiction nor faith in insecurity. A unity, in which both head and heart can find anchorage, must be the goal of all serious intellectual and religious endeavor.

In the fourth place it may be justly urged against the new theology that much of its polemic is directed against unreal abstractions and that its present vogue is due in no small measure to the ambiguity of its terms or the unusual sense in which they are employed. Take, for instance, the terms "time," "history," "experience," "religion." "Time" and "history" are interpreted in a naturalistic and necessitarian sense, and as such are justly condemned as devoid of spiritual content. "Experience" and "religion" are interpreted as purely human phenomena and so come under condemnation as exclusive of the divine. But these abstract meanings are not the ones commonly ascribed to these terms. The same is also to be said of the "dialectic" interpretation of such terms as "revelation," "miracle," "resurrection," and "atonement." It differs materially from the traditional interpretation. Yet the two are not always sharply distinguished. The result is a great deal of unclearness and confusion of thought; and the system actually seems to thrive on this confusion. What Trendelenberg said of metaphysics in general might aptly be applied to much of the dialectic theology. It is "a systematic misuse of a terminology expressly invented for that purpose."

But while serious and indeed decisive theoretical considerations may thus be urged against the theology of crisis, there are elements of strength in it. It has a message, a number of very important messages, for our day. First, it is a summons to us to take the thought of God seriously, to think through its implications more fully than we have. Never, I suppose, has this need been brought home to theologians more insistently

than by the Barthian school. As a protest against the superficial secular humanism of the day they have rendered a valuable service.

Secondly, their theology is a summons to us to give greater heed to the sovereign and incomprehensible aspects of the divine nature. God is love, but he is also the Veiled Being, before whom we need to stand in awe and reverence. This lesson our age needs to learn.

Again, the theology of crisis brings home to us the seriousness of the thought of human destiny and the imminence of this impending event. It thus restores to religion something of its lost power. The lightning of heaven, which in the past had been changed into a domestic slow combustion stove, begins again to flash across our sky.

In the fourth place, the dialectic theology is a vigorous protest against the pride and presumption of the modern man. The protest goes too far. It humiliates man beyond what either reason or faith can tolerate, but it nevertheless has its value as a corrective of the self-deification, into which the modern man has fallen.

Finally, our new theology has rendered an important service by bringing the idea of revelation back into the center of theological interest and by summoning the church to a deeper and more reverent study of the Word of God.

These services, it may be noted, are all practical. It is in this field, in my opinion, that the chief significance of the Barthian theology lies. Barth will hardly become another Schleiermacher, inaugurating a new theological era, as some of his admiring friends predict. But he has already brought into theology a new note of religious earnestness. He speaks, it is true, a different language from that to which we have been accustomed. His ideas and modes of thought seem often strange and puzzling. But however unclear, inconsistent, paradoxical, and even erroneous his utterances may be, they clothe a message of prophetic power. They bring home to people the reality of the divine. It is this fact, quite as much as the novel and revolutionary character of their theological reconstruction, that has given to Barth and his associates their present conspicuous place in the theological world.

THE SOUL OF LINCOLN'S AMERICA¹

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IN 1844 Emerson wrote, "Europe stretches to the Alleghenies, America lies beyond." Later somebody said, "Politics is the passion of Western men." Perhaps these two statements can be used to bound America geographically and to express America psychologically. This may help us in finding the soul of America.

Lincoln is one of the mysteries of history. Ancient molds were not used in making him. Heredity and environment do not explain him. Political history did not produce him. So I am not going to make the mistake that so many biographers of Lincoln make. I am not going to try to make the rough pioneering age of Lincoln creative of the soul of Lincoln.

But it is quite another thing to try to picture the soul of America by depicting the struggles and aspirations and the religious life and the political and social developments of that which lies beyond the Alleghenies. Finally we shall try to show the finished product, a new nation with a vital, throbbing life of its own, a nation with a soul.

I am aware, of course, there are those who maintain that America has no soul. The French say that we are too young to have a soul, that we are childlike. The British say that we have not the rootings into the past, we are too much on the surface to have a soul. Some of the smart and European-minded Americans say that we lack the depths of culture that is necessary for a soul, that we are a mere amalgam or the product of an ugly melting pot.

Now, at the very beginning of my talk I am going to maintain that Lincoln's America has a soul. And that this soul is vitally different from anything ever before produced in history. That this American soul is the most important factor in international and world life to-day. That we have not become the richest and strongest nation on earth by mere accident, but that it is the natural result of the most creative life known in history.

"West of the Alleghenies," that's where the soul of America was produced. The Westernizing of the United States is the largest and most

¹ This address was delivered at the Rotary Club, Wheeling, West Va., February 14, 1928.

significant trek in the history of the migration of the races. Never before was such a large area of resourceful land settled by the same kind of people. Never before was there such a migration by a people with such high ideals, such idealism, and such dominant grandeur of character. Here we have something new in race education. And we ought to expect something new for civilization.

Yet while this is so, the American soul is perhaps the least understood even by us Americans. The inner life of Greece and Rome has been interpreted faithfully. The soul of Egypt, even of ancient times, is better known than that of modern America. The ancients and the moderns of Asia, Europe, Africa and even South America have a larger place in literature than "West of the Alleghenies." The reason for this is, of course, the very baffling nature of the American soul. Most Europeans who look in upon us give us up and go away scolding us for some minor seeming lack of culture or something else that they cannot understand. We Americans are too close to ourselves to really understand our own soul. Therefore, I have to-day an original and difficult task when I try to picture to you the real soul of America. I cannot go to any literature for help in this line.

Personally I feel that the soul of America can best be photographed through the lenses of the soul of Abraham Lincoln. I shall at least try to set Lincoln into the center of the picture and I believe it will illuminate and interpret the American soul to the thinker who is honestly trying to understand American civilization. If it be true that the interplay of heredity and environment, the struggles and the hopes and achievements of a people are the high priests that solemnly anoint and enthrone the prophets of an age, then it is equally true that the heroes of a people help to make the outlines of the soul. They put in the shadows and the lights by which we can read the heart and the life and the spirit of any people.

Carl Sanborg's Lincoln is the Lincoln of modern realism. He rescues Lincoln from the shadowland. He brings him home from captivity and myth. You see Lincoln in reality and it is very interesting and helpful to read modern books on Lincoln to one who wants to find his soul, but modern realism only gives the photograph of Lincoln. Lincoln now needs to be X-Rayed for us. I am looking for some Carl Sanborg to come forth with a deeper picture of Abraham Lincoln.

Eighteen hundred and nine was a most significant moment in history. It is the year of great men. It is one of the big heart beats of world history. God's angels then took the first step in the new world upheaval. Let us look intensely at this episode in creation. To see it best we must see the period from 1809 to 1861 in one moment, in one grasp of thought.

Will you see it with me in one moment—the Kentucky background—the nobility of parentage—the heroes of Daniel Boone's day—the elemental living in the wilds, the crude life, the lack of culture, the hardships, whisky, fights, sickness, starvation—the terrible wrestling with nature that always brings out the soul—the Indians—the river trips—the struggle for books—the struggle to choose a career—the surveyor—the lawyer—Lincoln's courtship, death and sorrow, seeming utter failure of life—the politics of the day, the debates, humor and pathos in his oratory—a disturbed country—the rise to great moral heights—the presidency—the war and the assassin's bullet—that's Lincoln. All of us who study biography know this Lincoln. But the soul of Lincoln still baffles us. We must strike deeper.

Will you permit me to give three sort of spiritual X-Ray pictures of the soul of America "West of the Alleghenies," which I think will give us a better understanding of Abraham Lincoln as well as Lincoln's America.

I. I believe that the soul of America can be X-ographed in the pathos and melancholy and sorrow and mystic humor of Lincoln. It was said of Lincoln's mother that she kept in silence behind those gray eyes more beliefs than she spoke, and that so much of what she believed and lived for was yonder, ever yonder. I think exactly the same statement would fit Abraham Lincoln. Six months after the death of his mother he brought Parson Elkins to preach the funeral sermon. After the service he threw himself passionately on his mother's grave. For years he wept every time the new snow came upon this mother's grave. Now, that's American sorrow. No other nation, not even the Hebrews, developed the depths of soul and capacity for sorrow that we find here in America. These deeper mystic relationships with the Eternal are peculiarly American. The moods of nature and of God are mystic. These folks of the pioneer days were close to God.

The comic outline of Abraham Lincoln as we see it in American history silhouetted against the dawning new day is that of Lincoln walking fifty miles for books, or swinging his arms in awkwardness, with coon skin cap and trousers too short, debating or telling stories.

But when we look deeper into Americanism and the real life of Lincoln we see him even at the age of eleven with long spells of abstraction. It was said of him that when he attended socials and parties he was a thousand miles away. He seemed to dip far into the future while others made merry with the day. Blues and multiple coils of melancholies overtook him time and time again until the end. All that Handel and Schopenhauer uttered in foiled hopes were personified in Lincoln. His soul was always the real battlefield of the Civil War. He said

that if his grief could be evenly spread out to all the people of America there would not be one happy person in the country.

The other side that we see in this picture of the American soul through the lense of Lincoln's soul is a radiant wit and humor that you do not find anywhere else in the world. Lincoln's grief was interfountained with rippling laughter and mirth. God set up his soul with batteries of laughter. This admixture of melancholy and mirth is my first snapshot or X-ograph of the American soul. And it is just this that utterly baffles European literature and European-minded Americans. A poet in England once told me that the thing he could not understand about an American audience was that in one minute they could weep and the next minute they could be convulsed in laughter.

This strange element in the American soul helps us to explain Lincoln's oratory which even the Europeans now admit is equal in greatness to that of Demosthenes. Lincoln's oratory is so simple and yet so tantalizing complex. It is impressionable beyond compare with large spots of pathos and ever-changing lights and comic situations. He stands there loose-jointed, a sort of combination of Jiggs, Mutt and Jeff, and Andy Gump. He uses the street slang and a dialect from the corner grocery and yet transcendently writes the Gettysburg Address. In his transcendent moments there is in him a strange far-offness as solemn as death. He is truly a world paradox. With his funny stories he is so simple and so easy to understand and yet he is unearthly and ethereal when his eyes show the shadows of the Gethsemanes that he has been through.

II. Then I believe that the soul of America can be X-ographed by an intensive study of the deeper elements of American religion as we see it interpreted in the life of Abraham Lincoln. I suppose nothing more puzzles the average European writer than the religion of America.

Lincoln was reared in a time of tumultuous religious upheaval. It was a day when preaching was severely direct and simple. The preacher said, "Confess your sins," and their sins were many. Drinking, gambling, loafing, fighting, these were the sins denounced in Lincoln's hearing. Then the preacher said, "Seek salvation, accept free salvation, be decent, stop your meanness." The ethical side of religion was made much of. Heaven and hell were great material realities. The camp meeting was the great annual religious round-up. Emotionalism was the driving force. It gave an outlet for pent up feelings and unrealized hopes and longings.

Lincoln being reared in the solitude of the wilderness within the hearing of nature, near the thunderings of God, and the whisperings of creation, became very sensitive. He heard voices, he believed in dreams,

he saw things. He never long remained on the surface of any questions. When he saw the rocks of geology he saw deeper into the meaning of creation. He saw more than gravitation in the swinging of the planets. He saw more than mere protoplasm in the source of life. He had the very marks of the deepest religious prophets of the ages. He was so directly spiritual that he clashed with some of the crude dogmas of his day. Some misunderstood him and thought he was an unbeliever. But every speech and every proclamation marks him as a man who leans constantly on the Almighty. No speech of modern statesmen uses the language of religion more intelligently and more profusely than that of the Second Inaugural Address.

To me his religious life is almost uncanny, in that it was away ahead of his day and like that which we find in the best and broadest and most tolerant in American religious life to-day.

Perhaps we can see the religious life of America and that of Lincoln in his pardon cases to the best advantage. During the war President Lincoln had to pass on 30,000 court martial cases. He pardoned just as many men as he could. Lincoln wrote on one case: "This life is too precious to be lost." On another case he displayed a bit of humor when he wrote across the paper, "If this man had more than one life I think a little hanging would do him good." On another case he wrote, "we will not hang this young Private, it would scare him to death." The very heart-life of religious America in its deepest mercy and kindness is certainly exemplified in Lincoln's wonderful mercy.

III. Then I believe the third distinctive element in the American soul as we see it in Lincoln is that of moral grandeur. It is certainly strange that this land of pioneers and terrible struggle should out-reach all other peoples in moral achievements. This element is recognized in literature but it is very little understood.

What a setting there was in America in 1850 for the dramatization of moral grandeur. There was the far-stretching nation with room for adventure and unheard of opportunity for greed and gain. There was back of it the cultured East and beyond it the unknown West. Right in the center of this drama stand the slave driver, the slave breeder, and the plantation owners. There was a host who profited by the status quo. There were the mighty commercial interests that put money and finance before right. Property rights came before personal rights. On this stage of 1850 enters a new prophet, Abraham Lincoln. Behind him is a host of the preachers of righteousness ready to die for the principle that government must not perish from this earth.

The subject of this national drama was the contest between human

rights and property rights. Abraham Lincoln stood up in it as the master-mind of the day. His strength was his moral grandeur. He took the stand that slavery was morally wrong. This was always Abraham Lincoln's mightiness. The audience of this drama always felt that Abraham Lincoln was in the toils of something more than personal ambition.

This is simple to us, now. We all recognize that human slavery is a moral wrong. It was, however, not so simple in Lincoln's day. Many good people saw no wrong in slavery. Many others had their moral judgments distorted by financial gain. Had it not been for the fact that the American soul was peculiarly susceptible to moral heights the audience would never have lifted Abraham Lincoln to victory.

This moral grandeur of the American soul has been manifested again and again in American life. Take, for example, the struggle with the liquor traffic. Only the weaker forces were at first arrayed against the terrible evils of alcoholism. Any keen observer from Europe twenty-five years ago would have scoffed at the possibility of turning out hundreds of thousands of saloons by the mandate of the people. Even now Europeans and European-minded Americans fail to see anything but fanaticism in the abolition of the saloon. They utterly misread the American soul which has an unbelievable capacity for moral achievements. Those who hope for the return of the American saloon utterly fail to grasp the tenacity and the grandeur of the inner American life. Just as soon as America realized that the debauching of men by legalized temptation was wrong then the doom of the liquor traffic was struck.

Literature in Europe and America has been fond of picturing the Americanization process as a huge ugly melting pot into which the rubbish of the nations were being cast and melted down to a nondescript amalgam without personality or character. No picture is more untrue. No story does more violence to facts.

While in Budapest in a beautiful park talking with the grand old woman of Hungary, Miss Augusta Rosenburg, we came suddenly in the turn of the path upon a grand statue of Abraham Lincoln. Imagine my emotions upon seeing this statue in the disturbed war-torn Balkans. I said, "Quick translate the inscription for me." She said in good English, "The inscription reads: The Emancipator of Mankind." That Lincoln was not the product of the melting pot. There is something new, something out of God's great blue.

If we must picture to ourselves the American process let us call it a social laboratory. Let us call it God's own experimentation in democracy. Nowhere on earth had God a chance like this before. Here we had the possibility of a fresh series of experiments in self-government. Here the

binding conventionalities of the kings could be broken with liberty. Here was a daring born of pioneering. Here was enough poverty and struggle to develop an inner resistance. Here were enough of open boundless possibilities to feed the soul on hope. Here came the New England Puritans, the Maryland Cavaliers, the Scotch Presbyterians of the Carolinas, the Roman Catholics, the Methodists, and the Baptists from everywhere. These were all elements that refused to be melted down. No, this was not a melting pot. It was a world test tube containing violent, spurting, volcanic, elemental, creative elements that combined, but did not melt and formed the soul of America.

Professor Becker, of Cornell, says, "There is no fundamental characteristics of an imperial race that America has not developed. The West has produced the restless energy and inventive resourcefulness, a flexibility of mind, a human tolerance, and a genial acceptance of good and ill which forms the basis of our character."

Now what I want to bring home to you is this, that nothing that transpires in America to-day can be understood by one who utterly fails to understand the heart-life and the soul-life of America as pictured in Lincoln. This knowledge of the inner life and the history of the processes that made America gives me great confidence in the essential sanity and goodness of present-day America. We are not the melting pot of the East. We are the product of God's laboratory in the West. I am confident of the direction of American life as being safe and sound to-day.

Alarmists have much to say about the weakness and double-mindedness of the politicians of to-day. President Butler and Senator Borah are very concerned about our political parties that they should take a stand on the great issues. But I am sort of feeling for the politicians. It takes more than courage to take a stand in the day when scare headlines can kill a political career over night. Just as soon as we have an informed people who know the issues then we shall have political leaders who take a stand. Followers must come before leaders.

Others see grave dangers in our indifference to the ballot, but to decry our failure to vote is to start at the wrong end of the problem. If we revive interest in great issues and hold a debating society in every schoolhouse then there will be crowds at the ballot boxes just as in Lincoln's day.

And I think there will be something on soon. The world seems ready for another leap into history. Everything indicates it—the unrest or hesitation in world politics, the new race consciousness of the East, the challenges to democracy, the new successes of autocracy, all indicate to me that something is going to happen. Human government must take

the next step. The next step to my mind will not be national. Abraham Lincoln settled the essential fundamentals of national democracy. The next step must be international. We are as confused now as people were in Lincoln's day about states' rights and the unity of the nation. But out of the confusion will come, I believe, a new moral conception of the international brotherhood of man. Some who see this are crying for a great international Lincoln, but I say to this generation that there shall be no one great leader. The day for single leadership is over. The future will see a democracy for leadership or what I would term a multiple leadership. Humanity, to be sure, will be led in mass sentiments by the radio and the press and our international traveling, but I believe that no international Lincoln is possible. Henry Ford is still holding out as the great lone example of autocratic leadership in industry. But I believe that the example in General Motors in multiple leadership is the way of the future in government.

Now, of course, you can see that my demand for Lincolns in every community puts a heavy draft on the church and on our educational institutions. During the past generation or two we searched the heavens, the sea, and the earth to know the secrets of science to make a better material world. And we succeeded. Now I believe we must search unto the last community of the world for brain and heart material for such stuff as Lincoln was made of.

I am sorry I am past forty. I want to see the new day of international emancipation ushered in.

RELIGIOUS ENTHUSIASM AS A MOTIVE FORCE IN
SPANISH COLONIZATION

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It was long the custom for Protestant ministers in the United States in their patriotic sermons and addresses to speak of the discovery and colonization of North America as a providential event. The facts seemed to be perfectly clear. Just twenty-five years after Columbus made his famous voyage, Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the church door at Wittenberg. Thus the beginning of Protestantism and the discovery of America were contemporaneous events. In other words, God had saved North America for Protestantism. To quote the words of an eloquent historian:

"The grandeur of human enterprise and achievement in the discovery of the western hemisphere has a less claim on our admiration than that divine wisdom and controlling providence, which, for reasons now manifested, kept the secret hidden through so many millenniums, in spite of continual chances of disclosure, until the fullness of time."¹

But if North America were providentially set apart for Protestantism, the facts of history and the logic of events seem to indicate equally the providential setting aside of South and Central America for the expansion and development of sixteenth-century Hispanic Roman Catholicism. The timeliness of the discovery of the western hemisphere, in its relation to church history, "is not summed up when we say that it coincided with the Protestant Reformation, so that the new world might be planted with Protestant Christianity." With equal logic we might say that God saved South America until the reign of the Catholic kings—Ferdinand and Isabella—had brought wide-spread reforms to Spanish Catholicism, reforms which were to prepare Latin Christianity for a sweeping conquest of South and Central America. Indeed, it might be said that Spain was making peculiar preparation for her conquest of America from the invasion of the Moors to the first voyage of Columbus. Out of the contact with the Moors through seven hundred years came those influences which created definite peculiarities in Spanish character which were to prove of tremendous importance in his dealings with the natives of America.

¹L. W. Bacon, *A History of American Christianity* (New York, 1897), p. 1.

The Spaniard has been called the most oriental of Europeans. Jews were present in Spain in large numbers before the coming of the Moors, and welcomed the conquerors from northern Africa. Under the Moors, the Jews found conditions for themselves much improved and they again turned to agriculture and pastoral life. They also took part in the intellectual revival in Spain, and it was the combined influence of the Jew and the Moor which caused Spain, for a time, to lead the civilization of western Europe. At this period there is little doubt but that Spain was the most tolerant nation in Europe. The Christian, the Moor and the Jew lived together, side by side, each respecting the other.

"The period during which Spanish territory was divided between the Christian and the Mohammedan appears, from the standpoint of social enlightenment, the most hopeful in the history of the peninsula. The process of race affiliation had begun, and through the mingling of the elements present there was forming a new nation big with the prospects of great material achievement."

The Moors were extremely tolerant of the Spanish Christians, contrary to popular belief. The Christians had undisputed enjoyment of their property and religion. Seven churches in Cordoba and six in Toledo were occupied by the Christians throughout the whole period of Moorish domination, and public Christian worship was allowed. Taxes were alike for both races, except the Christians paid a poll tax. There was little attempt on the part of the Mohammedans to convert Christians to their faith, though many became Mohammedans, and there was considerable intermarriage between the races.²

During the early years of the Christian reconquest, the conquered Moors were allowed

"To remain in the enjoyment of their own religion, laws, and property, and under the rule of their own local magistrates. Down to the middle of the thirteenth century, it is scarcely too much to say that they were not only gladly tolerated, but highly esteemed. . . . Any attempt to persecute them was vigorously resisted. They were protected, and often actively favored."

These facts are a refutation of the statement, commonly made, "that the Spaniard has been a bigot and a fanatic at every stage of his development." Professor Merriman, however, does point out that the Spaniards' religious antipathies have been easy to arouse, and undoubtedly he has won his greatest victories when inspired by the conviction that he was fighting the battle of the Cross.³

² H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*. Four vols. (New York, 1908), I, pp. 35-79.

³ R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*. Three vols. (New York, 1918, 1926), I, pp. 86-89.

The influences which transformed the Spaniard from the most tolerant to the most intolerant of European peoples began to be exerted from the early years of the fourteenth century onward. It was then that the Pope and the ecclesiastical authorities began deliberately to inculcate intolerance. The church began to urge upon the Christian states to rid themselves of the disgrace of harboring the infidel. The Jew and the Moor were held up before the people as the enemies of God and the Christian race. And while the other European states were organizing their orders of Christian Knights, such as the Knight Templars, the Knight Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights, the Spanish and Portuguese crusaders were forming their orders of the Santiago and Calatrava, of Alcantara and Evora. The European orders fought the infidel in Syria and the Holy Land, and the Spanish and Portuguese knights fought the infidel in their own peninsula. And this crusading spirit lasted much longer in the Iberian Peninsula than it did in the other European states. By the end of the fourteenth century it was no longer a factor in Europe as a whole, but not so in Spain and Portugal. Here it lasted until the Moor was completely conquered or driven beyond the borders.

There is no time in this paper for an account of the details of these long wars. The investigations of Henry C. Lea and Professor R. B. Merriman have made them easily accessible to every American student.⁴

The spirit of intolerance engendered by these long wars against the Moors, and the recurring massacres and persecutions of the Jews, came to its final flower in the Spanish Inquisition. In 1480 Ferdinand and Isabella requested authorization of the Pope for the appointment of themselves as inquisitors to root out heresy. To this request the Pope readily consented, and in September of that year, a special court was established at Seville, and the famous Inquisition began its work. At first the Jews and Moors were not subject to its jurisdiction, but on March 20, 1492, the policy in this respect was changed, and all the Jews were ordered either to change their religion or leave the country by July 31. This decree instituted one of the most cruel and heartless persecutions in history. All Jews in Aragon and Castile were to accept Christianity or leave the country. It has been estimated that this decree resulted in the migration of 15,000 Jews, in the forced conversion of 50,000 and the loss of 20,000 Jewish lives. In 1500 the Moors were brought under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition and their enforced conversion or expulsion followed.

⁴ H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*, 4 vols.; *The Moriscos of Spain; Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with the Inquisition*; R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, 3 vols.

So successful was the policy of enforced conversion which was advocated by Ximenes, the archbishop of Toledo, that thousands of Moors accepted baptism. In a single day "three thousand candidates were said to have presented themselves for baptism," and so great was the crowd that individual attention was impossible and it was necessary to use a brush in sprinkling them with holy water.⁵

This method of the use of force in the conversion of the infidel found sufficient justification in the minds of the Spanish high church officials. A Spanish bishop, writing in the sixteenth century, states that anyone might kill an infidel or heretic, and that the kings of Spain were obligated either to exterminate the Moors or at least drive them out of the country. He also held it permissible for a child to slay his parents, if they were heretics or idolaters, or brother or sister, and even one's own children.⁶

By 1500 war and religion had come to be the dominant interests of the life of the Spaniard. Every pure-blooded Spaniard considered himself as belonging to at least the lower order of the nobility, and there were but two occupations a noble Spaniard could honorably enter—the army and the church. Spanish society in the sixteenth century seemed to exist for the church rather than the church for society. In this century there were in Spain "58 archbishoprics, 684 bishoprics, 11,400 monasteries, 23,000 brotherhoods, 46,000 monks, 13,000 nuns, 312,000 secular priests, and more than 400,000 ecclesiastics, while there were 80,000 civil servants, and 367,000 other officials." All these ministered to a population of perhaps six millions of people. So devoted to religion and its practices was Spain of the sixteenth century that there were actually more holy days than there were days in the year.

During the long struggle with the Moors, religion was used as a means to an end; it furnished symbols and war cries; but it was not, at that time, the principal motive force. But by the time of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella religion had become the chief end. By this time

"The Spanish soldier had become a real religious zealot, and the resolve to propagate the Christian faith a dominant factor in his life. In their efforts to instill the largest possible measure of religious fervor into their subjects, the Catholic kings and their successors had the inestimable advantage of being able to utilize ancient battle cries, and thus to make their program of militant Catholicism seem the logical consequence of what had gone before."

Thus the Spanish Conquistador went into the battles with the Aztecs

⁵ I. L. Plunket, *Isabel of Castile and the Making of the Spanish Nation, 1451-1504* (New York, 1915), p. 274.

⁶ LaFuente, *Historia de Espana* VIII, p. 27, quoted in C. S. Braden, *Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico*, p. 43 Ms.

of Mexico or with the Araucanians of Chile with the same battle cries as did the conquerors of the Moors in Spain.⁷

Such is the religious background of the Spanish conquerors of America. When the Spaniard came to America he came with three chief motives: (1) He was hungry for adventure. The closing of the wars with the Moors had thrown many Spanish knights out of employment, but the opening of America was to them a door of hope, a new field for the exercise of arms, and the prospects of new conquests for the Cross and incidentally for their own advantage, appealed to them as a golden opportunity. And it was never a difficult matter to find adventurers anxious to come to America. The second expedition of Columbus (1493) had seventeen ships and more than 1,400 men, and the first attempts to colonize the mainland contained several hundreds, as contrasted with the small numbers and meager equipment of the first English colonizing expeditions. (2) He came with a sincere desire to spread the Catholic faith, and in the midst of all his various activities he never lost sight of his religious program; with hardly an exception priests accompanied every expedition, and no opportunity was lost of establishing Christian worship among the natives of America. (3) He came searching for wealth. Infinitely poor the Spaniard had no way to gain wealth except by plunder. Sixteenth-century Spain was economically at a low ebb. The Spaniard looked with contempt upon every means of gaining wealth; upon trade and agriculture, while he had just expelled the industrial classes, the Moors and the Jews.⁸

Although the Spanish knight loved gold and his desire seemed insatiable, yet it would be a mistake to place the desire for gold as his only motive; indeed, it would seem that no people were ever more indifferent to economic advantage than were the Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹

"Sixteenth century Spain produced a race of Christian warriors whose piety, born of an intense realization of love for a militant Christ, was of a martial complexion, beholding in the symbol of salvation, the Cross, the standards of Christendom around which the faithful must rally, and for whose protection and exaltation swords must be drawn and blood spilled if need be. They were the children of the generation which had expelled the last Moor from Spain and had brought centuries of religious and patriotic warfare to a triumphant close in which their country was finally united under the crown of Castile. . . . The discovery of a new world, peopled by barbarians, opened a new field to

⁷ Merriman, *op cit.*, I, pp. 87-89.

⁸ Bernard Moses, "Economic Conditions in Spain in the Sixteenth Century," *American Historical Association Reports*, (1893), pp. 125-133.

⁹ Sir Arthur Helps, *Spanish Conquest of America*. Four vols. (London, 1900), I, p. 18.

the Spanish missionary zeal, in which the kingdom of God was to be extended and countless souls rescued from the idolatries and debasing cannibalism which enslaved them. This was the white man's burden which that century laid on the Spaniard's shoulders."¹⁰

Officially at least, the chief motive which brought the Spanish Conquistador to America was religious. Pope Alexander VI, in his celebrated bull of 1493, in which he conferred on the Spanish sovereigns dominion over the territories discovered by Columbus, names the propagation of the faith as the sole motive; while Queen Isabella, in the codicil to her will, urges her husband and children to keep it ever in view. Every royal commission issued to the conquerors made this duty prominent. Philip II made it the principal object of Spanish rule to preserve the purity of the faith and to spread it beyond the seas, and all his chief officers were instructed to subordinate every question of profit and advantage to this one object.¹¹

Cortez considered himself a providential agent in spreading the true faith. A contemporary church historian thus describes this divinely selected instrument in the salvation of the Indians: "It ought to be well pondered how, without any doubt, God chose the valiant Cortez as his instrument for opening the door and preparing the way for the preaching of the gospel in the new world, where the Catholic Church might be restored and recompensed by the conversion of many souls, for the great loss and damage which the accursed Luther was to cause at the same time within established Christianity. Wherefore, that which was lost in one place might be recovered in another. Thus it is not without mystery that the same year that Luther was born in Eisleben, in Saxony, Fernando Cortez saw the light in Medellin, a village in Spain; the former to upset the world and to bring beneath the banner of Satan many of the faithful who had been for generations Catholics; the latter to bring into the fold of the church an infinite multitude of peoples who had for ages been under the dominion of Satan in idolatry, vice and sin."¹²

Cortez thought of his expedition as a holy crusade, as his reported speeches abundantly testify. At a certain crisis in his conquest, when disgruntled followers urged the return to Cuba, Bernal Diaz reports him as saying:

"Neither must you forget, gentlemen, that up to this moment the Almighty has lent us his protection and we may confidently expect that he will not desert

¹⁰ F. A. MacNutt, *Fernando Cortez and the Conquest of Mexico* (New York, 1909).

¹¹ H. C. Lea, *Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York, 1908), p. 181.

¹² Geronimo de Mendieta, *Historia de las Indias* (Editado por El Marques de la Fuensanta del Valle, S Tomos Madrid, 1876), Libro III, Cap. I, pp. 174-175. Quoted in Braden, *Religious Aspect of the Conquest of Mexico*, Ms., pp. 114-15.

us in the future, for, from our first arrival in this country, we have announced his holy religion to the different tribes according to the best of our ability and destroyed the idols."¹³

Nor was the conqueror of Mexico peculiar in his devotion to the extension of the Santa Fé (Holy Faith). When Pizarro had finally reached Peru, after untold sufferings, and at last, at Cajamarca preparations were being made to meet Atahualpa, the reigning Inca, he would not proceed until mass had been said before the troops, "and the God of battles invoked to spread his shield over the soldiers who were fighting to extend the empire of the Cross; and all joined with enthusiasm in the chant—"Exsurge, Domine." "Rise, O Lord! And judge thine own cause."¹⁴

"One might," as Prescott says, "have supposed them a company of martyrs about to lay down their lives in defense of their faith, instead of a licentious band of adventurers meditating one of the most atrocious acts of perfidy on the record of history." Pizarro was undoubtedly sincere in his feeling that he was fighting the battles of the Cross, and for the time at least baser motives were secondary. And his soldiers, "kindled to a flame of religious ardor," welcomed the coming battle.

When finally Atahualpa, on his royal litter seated on his throne of massive gold, entered the plaza of Cajamarca, the first Spaniard to approach the Inca was Pizarro's chaplain, Fray Vicente de Valverde, a Dominican friar who with a Bible (other accounts say a breviary) in one hand and a crucifix in the other, spoke to the Inca, saying that he came by the order of his commander to explain to him the doctrines of the true faith. Then we are told the friar proceeded to explain to the Inca and his court the doctrines of the Trinity, the creation and fall of man, then his redemption through Christ, the ascension, and the appointment of Peter as his Vicegerent on earth, and that the "good and wise" men who had succeeded him held authority over all the powers of earth, and that one of these latter popes had commissioned Charles V, the Spanish Emperor, the most powerful of all monarchs, to conquer these natives and to bring them to the knowledge of God, and to the obedience of the church.

¹³ Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *True History of the Conquest* (New York, 1908), p. 162.

¹⁴ Los Ecclesiasticos i Religiosos se ocuparon toda aquella noche en oracion, pidiendo a Dios el mas conveniente suceso a su sagrado seririo, exaltaron de la fe e salvacion de tanto numero de almos, derramando muchas lagrimas i sangre in los disciplinas que tomaron. Francisco Pizarro animo a los soldados con una uni cristina plotica que les hizo: conque i asegurarles los Eslesiasticos de parte de Dios i de su madre Santisma la vitoria amanecieron todos mia deseosos de dar la batalla diciendo a voves, Exsurge Domine et judica causam tuam. Nahorra, *Relación sumaria*, Ms., quoted in Prescott, *Peru*, I, p. 297, note.

To accomplish all this, the Emperor had chosen Don Francisco Pizarro who is on the spot. All that needs to be done to bring about this happy consummation is for the Inca to make an alliance with the Spaniards, and agree to pay tribute, to obey the Pope, believe in Christ and give up idolatry. But "if with an obstinate mind you endeavor to resist," said the chaplain, "you may take it for very certain that God will permit that, as anciently Pharaoh and all his army perished in the Red Sea, so you and all your Indians will be destroyed by our arms."¹⁵

Just how little or how much the poor Inca understood of this pedantic harangue, no one will ever know, but he got enough of it to know that his submission to an unknown authority was being sought and he stoutly and bravely refused to submit or give up his faith, crying out, "My God still lives in the heavens and looks down on his children." And when Valverde handed him the Bible, as the authority for all the Spaniards' demands, the Inca threw it down with vehemence, and the priest, stopping only to pick up the Bible, hastened to Pizarro, told him what had happened, and exclaimed, "Do you not see that while we stand here wasting our breath in talking with this dog, full of pride as he is, the fields are filling with Indians? Set on at once; I absolve you."¹⁶

The Spaniards now rushed upon the unarmed Indians, crying out their old crusaders' battle cry, "Santiago," and when finally quiet once more reigned in the plaza of Cajamarca, from two to ten thousand Indians lay dead; the Inca was a captive; and the second step in the conquest of Peru was accomplished. (There is great discrepancy in the accounts of the number of Indians killed, varying from two to ten thousand; probably from five to seven thousand is nearer correct. Pizarro naturally placed the number at only two thousand.)¹⁷

The prominent place given to religion in the conquests of Cortez and Pizarro is typical—not exceptional—of every expedition of a Spanish conqueror, and in the founding of every Spanish colony. The very geography of present-day Hispanic America gives silent testimony to the official religious motive of the Spaniard. The numerous Santiagos, named for the patron saint of Spain, the San Juans, the San Franciscos, Vera Cruz, Cape Gracios a Dios, En Nombre de Dios, Santu Espiritu, Concepción, Asunción, San Miguel and so on ad infinitum. Unlike the North American discoverers and colonizers, who named the bays, rivers, capes and settlements after contemporary kings and princes, or transplanted place names from England, the Spanish colonizer preferred the names of

¹⁵ Helps, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 366-8; W. H. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, I, pp. 298-302.

¹⁶ Prescott, *op. cit.*, I, p. 303.

¹⁷ Prescott, *op. cit.*, I, p. 307.

saints or some other pious name. A dead saint, evidently, meant far more to a sixteenth-century Spaniard than any living prince.

How sadly the Spaniard failed to carry out his official intention of bringing real Christianity to the Indians in America is soon revealed as we follow the footsteps of the conquerors. In 1509 King Ferdinand legalized the system of *Repartimientos* or *Encomiendas*, by which the natives were allotted among the settlers and reduced to practical slavery. To be sure, their masters were supposed to protect the Indians on their land and the official regulations called for a priest to instruct them and administer the sacraments,¹⁸ but humane regulations prescribed by a sovereign in far-off Spain had small chance among colonists eager in the pursuit of wealth and utterly unscrupulous as to the means of gaining it. The story of the destruction of the large native populations on the islands of the West Indies, where they worked under the lash, beyond their strength, with insufficient food, or in the mines in Mexico and Peru under the dreadful system of the *Mitad*, or as carriers for the conquerors cannot be recounted here. The good priest, Bartholomew de las Casas, has told the story in all its gruesome detail in his celebrated *Historia de las Indias* and in his more famous work, *The Destruction of the Indies* (*Brevisima relación de la Destrucción de las Indias*), written for the information of the Emperor Charles V. And yet while the Spaniards were engaged in the destruction of the natives, perpetrating upon them acts so cruel as to be almost past belief, they mingled with their inhuman devilities sacred ideas and pious admonitions. "Once," in honor and reverence of Christ and his twelve apostles, "they hanged thirteen Indians in a row at such a height that their toes could just touch the ground, and then pricked them to death with their sword-points, taking care not to kill them too quickly."¹⁹ Hatuey, a Cuban casique, was admonished to be baptized before execution, as was also the Inca Atahallpa before his execution at Cajamarca, in order that they might go to heaven.

While the conquerors soon lost sight of their supposed primary purpose of bringing the Indians to the true faith, it was not true of the authorities in Spain. Las Casas, during his long fight for the Indians, in spite of all the official influence brought to bear against him in America, for the revolutionary doctrines he was preaching and for his disturbing of the state, never lost the royal favor. Philip II was active in his interest to protect his Indian subjects, and in 1582 inspectors were sent through all the provinces to report abuses, and he likewise ordered all the high colonial officials, such as viceroys, governors and judges, to remedy

¹⁸ *Recopilación de leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, 1, 2, Tit. VIII, lib. VI.

¹⁹ John Fiske, *The Discovery of America* (Boston, 1892), II, p. 444.

abuses practiced against the Indians. In 1795 it was ordered that Spaniards who maltreated Indians would be more severely punished than if the offense had been committed against a Spaniard. Philip III, Philip IV and Charles II were all determined to better conditions of their Indian subjects. There were officials known as Protectors of the Indians, whose duty it was to see that they were protected from oppression and injustice. The sixth book in the great collection of the laws of the Indies (*Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*), contains hundreds of decrees showing the anxious care of the sovereigns for the welfare, both temporal and spiritual, of the native race in America. This section in the Laws is headed by the "earnest and touching codicil of Queen Isabella which is ordered to be observed by all officials as of full legal and binding force."²⁰

Whatever may be said of the cruelties practiced by the Spaniard against the Indians in America, this much must be said for the government; it did all in its power to protect the helpless natives, and to quote the words of Professor Bourne, "the Indian legislation of the Spanish kings is an impressive monument to benevolent intentions which need not fear comparison with the contemporary legislation of any European country affecting the status of the working classes."²¹

So far I have presented the darkest side of the picture. During the early years of the Spanish conquest of America the church and the priests were largely the tools of the unscrupulous conquerors. The Spanish conquests were not made under royal direction at royal expense, but rather by filibustering expeditions of adventurers, who risked their own money and lives in the hope of profit, while the crown obtained the suzerainty of the territory conquered, one-fifth of the precious metals found and right to collect tribute from the subdued Indians. The expeditions of Ponce de Leon, Vasco Nuñez Balboa, Pizarro, Alvarado, de Sota were all conducted on this plan. The priests on these expeditions helped to gain and keep the royal favor, and at the same time they were often of use in helping to gain the submission of the Indians.

Later when missionaries began to come out independently of the conquerors, a better and higher type of work among the natives was the result, though the exploitation of the Indians by the priests went on throughout the whole colonial period. The missionaries generally belonged to the regular clergy, Augustinians, Capuchins, Franciscans and Jesuits being the most important. Tribes of Indians were assigned to members of these orders and missions were established by the friars.

²⁰ H. C. Lea, *Indian Policy of Spain*, Yale Review, 1899, pp. 154-5.

²¹ E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America* (New York, 1906), p. 256.

Generally the missionaries were independent of the civil officials. They founded their missions in remote regions, far distant from the Spanish settlements and there the natives were gathered into missions called reductions. Here schools were organized and elementary instruction was given in Christian doctrine and some of the simpler arts. After a time the reduction became an Indian village, *Pueblo de Indios*, and a curate was placed in charge.

If not the most successful, at least the most famous of the Indian missions were those of the Jesuits in Paraguay. By royal sanction the Jesuits were granted the privilege of Christianizing the Indians in the wilds between the Parana and the Paraguay rivers. These missions were well sheltered from all outside interference and were ideally located to keep out intrusion from outsiders. Here a series of communistic communities were established, numbering by the end of the seventeenth century more than forty, the largest containing a population of twenty thousand. In each village were two Jesuit residents, one the cura, who occupied himself largely with the administration of the temporal affairs of the pueblo, and the other called the *companero* or the vice-cura, who had charge of the spiritual direction. Over all the missions was a Superior, who was the final authority and there was no appeal to any outside official.

No religious establishment in the English colonies could compare to Roman Catholicism in the Spanish colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the end of the eighteenth century there were seven archbishops and forty-one bishops in Spanish and Portuguese America. Under the archbishop of Santo Domingo were five bishoprics; in the archdiocese of Mexico were eight bishoprics; in that of Central America or Guatemala there were three; in the archbishopric of Lima there were nine; in that of Caracas five; and in Bogota four. In Brazil there was one archbishop located at Bahia and there were nine Brazilian bishops.

The wealth of the Spanish colonial church accumulated through private bequests and public grants was very great. Toward the close of the eighteenth century a large proportion of the wealth of the city of Lima was in the hands of the church, including the four Dominican monasteries, three Franciscan, three Augustinian, with eleven others of various orders. Besides there were fourteen convents for nuns; five houses for pious women, in addition to hospitals and other institutions devoted to charitable purposes. Humboldt estimates that eighty per cent of the landed property in Mexico in the latter eighteenth century was in the hands of the church. When the Jesuits were expelled, there were in Mexico twenty-three Jesuit colleges, 103 missions with 122,000 neophytes, while as early as 1622 a letter to the king from the Cabildo of Mexico City

stated that there were in Mexico 6,000 members of the clergy without charges.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of Roman Catholicism in the building of the Spanish Colonial Empire. The far-flung Spanish mission establishments in South and Central America and in the southwestern part of what is now the United States is evidence even to the present-day casual observer of the importance of the activities of the missionaries in the territorial extension of the Spanish Colonial dominions.

Spanish Roman Catholicism was primarily responsible for making the Spaniard what he was—a mediæval crusader fighting, as he thought, for the triumph of the Cross. It supplied him with one of his chief motives for colonization and for his conquests; it gave him his battle cries; and last but not of least importance, it furnished an organization so efficient that not only the Cross, but the flag of Spain was soon lifted up over a colonial empire, which even to this day creates wonder and admiration.

CONCERNING HUMAN NATURE

ALBERT D. BELDEN

London, England

ONE of the most troublesome and mischievous sayings of the world, all too sadly common since the Great War, and one which is used again and again to block the path of human progress, is the statement, "Human nature never changes." It is the more mischievous because it is a half truth. Someone remarked recently to the editor of "Punch"—" 'Punch' is not what it used to be!" To which the editor immediately replied, "No, it never was!" The subtle distinction between the permanent quality and the passing expression in that little joke applies perfectly to this subject of human nature.

Human nature never changes to the extent that it becomes unrecognizable for itself. It does not become super-human or sub-human in any real sense. Even in a Caliban there are the rudiments of a man. Yet to claim that human nature remains at one dead level of quality, that all its reactions to life are fixed for ever, is to fly in the face of history and of fact.

History, for example, presents us with the recurring rise of great civilizations vastly different one from the other, and all of them characterized by the increasing refinement of the habits of animal and primitive man into the behavior and culture of the civilized gentleman.

If we take the more ancient civilizations and compare them with the more modern, I think we must admit also a degree of definite change there. One simple way of epitomizing the definite change of human nature between the primitive man and the civilized is to ask any respectable person, "Can you steal a joint of meat?" Now you need be very careful how you answer that question. It is very easy to answer abstractedly, "Oh yes, of course I can!" But you attempt to do it. One can see you at it! How many times would you pass the butcher's shop before you began, and would you not have to wait till the traffic held the street up, or an accident occurred to divert everyone's attention? And even supposing at last, with a tremendous effort, you screwed up your courage to the task of overthrowing all the accumulated scruples of your Christian training, when you got the joint of meat home, it would not stay in the pantry! It would climb the stairs and sit on the bed post, follow you to business next day and hop about your office, and become such an awful load upon your chest that your face would grow, pale and thin and you would

succumb to the first germ, and instead of your stealing a joint of meat, the joint of meat would have stolen you. The funeral would doubtless be a big one, the epitaph should read, "The man whose human nature was so changed that he could no longer steal a joint of meat!"

Similarly the emergence of shell shock as a phenomenon of war in the last great struggle was an emphatic proof that civilized man has reached a point of development where he is rendered definitely unfit for this kind of expression of the pugnacious instinct.

A great deal of nonsense is talked about racial superiority. As a rule the folk who are keenest upon saying human nature never changes are the very people who most illogically are apt to pride themselves upon being a superior race as compared with others. This sort of thing has been reduced to an absurdity by the Nordic race superiority claims of certain German writers. These claim, as belonging to that definitely superior human type, heroes so far apart as Jesus of Nazareth and Shakespeare! That is the sort of claim that over-reaches itself. As a matter of fact, in comparisons of races we can never get further than the presence of superior strains within one race as compared with another. You never get the whole race standardized up to the best type, or standardized down to the worst. There are geniuses and heroes among every people, and as the old Book has it, "God has not left himself without witness among any nation."

Of course, a greater care for the better types in a good nation or race may improve the general standard, and undoubtedly there are races on the earth which have striven for that higher standard in a very worthy and commendable way. But when the origin of such efforts is studied they are usually found to run back into certain great privileges of enlightenment that have befallen such a people. The light of truth and knowledge has flowed their way, while other peoples have languished in the darkness of ignorance. If the light had not traveled in their direction, the present superior race might have been the inferior, and the present inferior the superior—"What have we that we have not received? Who of us then can boast?"

It is an essential element in Christian doctrine that human destiny is magnificently equal. God makes his sun to shine upon the evil and upon the good, and his rain to fall upon the just and the unjust so that the backward plants of his garden may be brought forward and every creature of his care be perfected in due season. That perfection, however, cannot be mechanical, it can be only by our understanding and co-operation, so we proceed further to ask, "What is human nature?"

That is not an easy question to answer. For example, shall we judge

human nature by its worst types or by its best? Have we any more right to look in one direction than in the other? The man who believes that the world is ruled by chance is faced with a perfectly equal choice just there—both types are sheer accident and have no further meaning. But the man who believes in a divine purpose will feel obliged to judge of human nature by its better, not by its worst, types, because of his faith in development.

Aristotle taught us long ago that all living, growing things must be defined not by their beginnings but by their end. For example, you do not define an oak by an acorn. When you see an oak you do not say, "What a fine acorn!" But you do define an acorn by an oak. When you see an acorn you can say with some truth, "What a fine oak!" because if you give the acorn time it will prove your definition for it. Similarly it is perfectly true to say in answer to the question, "What is human nature?" "Jesus Christ of Nazareth." It is a stupendous answer, but it is much more true than to say that human nature is greed, or squalor, or fraud, or cruelty.

To get, however, to a more precise analysis. We may recognize that human nature takes its rise from the animal world. It may be described as animal nature, plus an altogether new degree of self-hood. Man is the self-conscious animal. Other animals look outward for the most part, but man looks both within and without. In other words the degree of self-reference employed in all animal nature reaches its highest degree of intensity in man. Our continuity with the animal world is undeniable, surely. It is also very important and very valuable. The simple facts of embryology provide sufficient organism for a degree of truth in evolution.

In the South Kensington Museum, London, there may be seen a case containing the history of an embryo of a chicken. The human embryo passes through just these stages.

Science tells us that life first emerged from the sea and it is interesting that according to embryology, the first form taken by the human embryo is that of a fish. Thus we see that every individual "climbs up his own genealogical tree."

I remember being very much amused by a certain poem of Rupert Brooke's which is meant to be a satire upon the chronic anthropomorphism of Christian theology in which he described a fish swimming about at the bottom of a pond to whom there comes the rumor of celestial beings who live above the pond. He makes the fish soliloquize, in an apparently foolish manner, to the effect that these beings who live beyond the pond must themselves be fishes. The egoism of this fish is so great that he can think

only of a fish world. Evidently Rupert Brook thought this a sufficient treatment of anthropomorphism. The curious fact, however, is of course, that the fish was perfectly right, seeing that the first essential form of the beings above the pond is established, by the science of embryology, to be that of a fish. So Rupert Brook was just a little hasty.

But this emergence of man from animal creation has points of great enlightenment for our understanding. For example, it makes a unity of all creation, enables us to feel that we live in a real universe.

It explains the animal creation. The vast menagerie of different types is just nature's laboratory for the discovery of man. The older religious interpretation was forced back upon the suggestion in Genesis that the animal creation was created to provide companions for man. With all due respect to the old position, it is rather a far-fetched idea. How much companionship could even a primitive man find with an elephant or with a giraffe? The theory does not really cover the situation. Whereas if you think of life having about it something essentially free and adventurous, striving by experiment to find the line of true progress, then you have a sufficient explanation of the animal world in its vast complexity. Life flows into as many forms as possible, seeking for the expanding and growing form. In certain forms it runs to dead ends, it can get no further, either because of the intractability of the matter and mistakes in the organism, or perhaps even because wrong moral choices are made as the element of freedom in the organism is misused. But in one direction the life force gets forward and that direction culminates in man. Whether man will yet prove a dead end or not depends on man, though we may assume, I think, with fair justice, that having persevered thus far and having the degree of understanding that now exists, there is every hope that life will get right through and return to its Creator fashioned in his likeness.

This theory places supreme dignity on man. Man is no sudden caprice of God, he is no sport. Millenniums of preparation wait upon his advent and attend his career, and the illimitable past becomes a prophecy of illimitable destiny, and we can say with the poet:

"Yet I doubt not through the ages
One increasing purpose runs
And the thoughts of men are widened
With the process of the suns."

Professor Simpson, of Edinburgh, in his great book, *Man and the Attainment of Immortality*, champions very strongly the idea that even in the humbler forms of animal organism there is something like moral

choice. There is a sort of essential non-conformity in every progressive movement in the life of the humbler creation.

Professor Simpson says:

"Every Christian at every stage has been a bundle of possibilities which increase in number with the advance of life, and this is supremely true of man; for him, as for all forms leading up to him, to conform to the criteria of the past has been to imperil his own existence. To conform to the finished criteria of the present has been to risk his racial existence. The only way in which future progress has been successfully and triumphantly secured has been by conformity to some as yet dimly appreciated but higher element revealed in the unmasking environment which in its ultimate aspect is God."

He says elsewhere:

"It would thus appear that successive broadly marked stages in the evolution of life have been terminated by strongly developed features, assimilation, sexual reproduction, muscular force, cunning or mind, each of which has been in its turn the survival-determining factor, par excellence. The rising into power of one of these factors does not, of course, mean the disappearance of the one that held sway previous to it. It still continues to function, but in a subordinate way. Now each of these stages has employed in the progressive form a growing independence of the approximate physical elements of the environment, and at the same time an increasing range of commerce with and of conformity to some deeper element in it, not, of course, fully understood by man. On the other hand, all along, other forms have settled down in an equilibrium of complete adaptation to some immediate aspect of the environment. It has always been an easy thing to do, but has inevitably spelt their evolutionary doom."

The question arises whether there is not for the human species some one crucial readaptation to life that must be made to secure the human future, and it is just here that we discover with new interest that the Supreme Teacher in human history has uttered some such ultimatum to human nature. Jesus proclaimed the absolute necessity of human rebirth. It is not too much to say that both the history of the human individual and the history of human society culminate in the supremacy of such a moral crisis.

(a) *In the Individual.*

In the development of the individual we find that there is a distinct gradation in the emergence of his powers. The order is first emotion, secondly reason, thirdly will. The little human child is just a bundle of sensations. He is governed almost entirely by his feelings. Gradually, reason emerges and he passes through that curious disease known as "questionitis." But the point of emphasis is that the very last thing to emerge is real will power, and youth is spent in the main in the struggle for self-control and upon the successful issue of that struggle rest the happiness and success of life.

What is the reason for this order? It would appear as though the life of the individual were definitely arranged to become an arena of battle. The captain of the ship does not come on board until all the unruly elements are in possession. If there is any sense in the arrangement at all, it can be only in order that the captain may learn his job and may become a real captain in his wrestle with his crew.

The old story, fact or legend as it may be, of the refusal of King Edward to come to the aid of the Black Prince at the battle of Cressy, because as he read the situation the boy had a chance of winning his spurs, is a good parable of the relation of the late emergence of will in the story of the individual. It means that the moral struggle is everything. In other words, the story of human nature culminates in this supreme question—"What kind of human nature shall I carry forward into the future?" The most important fact about human nature is that it must change to survive.

The question therefore arises—Is it possible for us to discern with any degree of clearness the actual poles of this fundamental change—a change upon which the highest moral genius known to our race, Jesus Christ, was so insistent? When we consider the main character of animal nature and contrast it with the best type of human nature, the most impressive distinction is that between self-centeredness and altruism.

Benjamin Kidd, in his remarkable book, *Science and Power*, has shown us that the Darwinian principle of the struggle for life "is the principle required for the making of the individual." He says: "Darwinianism represents the very antithesis of the principle of that social integration which is taking place in civilization." "The dividing line is absolutely fundamental. Darwinianism is essentially the science of the integration of the individual efficient in his own interests. If A was able to kill B before B killed A, then A survived, and the race became a race of A's, inheriting A's qualities. This was Bagehot's brief and vivid summary on the Darwinian doctrine, but," says Kidd, "this doctrine has nothing to do with the science of civilization. It is a doctrine of the efficiency of the animal. The progress of humanity . . . is the epic of the vast tragic immortal all-conquering ethic of renunciation."

Our evangelical forefathers had their own way of stating this great fact, although they knew next to nothing of evolutionary science. They used to say, rather dogmatically, but as we now perceive quite correctly, "The state of nature is not the state of grace."

The state of nature is that which makes the animal efficient. It is the principle of self-preservation and the highest reach of its ethic may be described as "reciprocity." In animal parlance it means, "If you

scratch my back, I'll scratch yours." "If you'll be good to me, I'll be good to you, but if you bite, I'll bite."

The state of grace, on the other hand, is seen in every true instance of the essentially Christian ethic of self-sacrifice. Grace is the loveliest word in our language, for it means more even than love. But grace is love to the unloving; it is the condescending curve of beauty; it is all that is meant by its supreme instance—Calvary; holiness speaking to the sinner of mercy shown to those who have no mercy on themselves.

Jesus himself marks off these poles of redemption and moral change in those memorable words, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it." The natural principle of self-preservation must yield place to this principle of self-renunciation, which above, can make a society.

(b) *Social.*

Now Benjamin Kidd says, "The ascending history of the human race is indeed nothing else than the progressive history of the sacrifice of the individual—efficient for himself—to the meaning of that collective efficiency which is being organized in civilization gradually merging in the universe."

Thus we arrive by a perfectly scientific route at the fundamental evangelical conception of the necessity of conversion on the part of the human race, *a conversion which alone can yield a kingdom of God*. The stupendous achievement of subordinating the age-long self-reference of nature which has made the human individual, to a new principle which calls for the sacrifice, conscious and purposeful, of the individual, is a change so drastic as to seem well nigh impossible. But the same gospel which uttered this challenge long before science so laboriously endorsed it, speaks with assurance of divine power for the achievement of this change of nature. Out of harmony with past nature as the change may be, it is in perfect harmony with super-nature. All heaven pulls upon the soul that will essay this change, and will stretch out hands of faith to its destiny. Finally it cannot be too strongly urged that our human choice is vital to this change, for if it were merely mechanical it would not be the change that befits the soul for social co-operation. No soul can be fitted into the kingdom of God unwillingly, or by force. All citizens of that high realm must be citizens by free choice and happy surrender. But given that fundamental belief the change is inevitable, but it is a change from imperfect, unrealized human nature into the nature of One who is active to save and of whom it has been written, "Divinest when thou most art man." *He* is "human nature." Behold the Man!

THE MYSTERY OF MARRIAGE

"Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν."—Eph. 5. 32.

GREAT mystery is marriage, saith the word:
A symbol that well nigh spells sacrament,
An old, new wonder veiled and consecrate,
Whose inmost grace is emblemed by Christ's love
Which counts all life, or death, a proper gift.
Its mazes have no guide but happy love,
Without whose hallowing grace 'tis sacrilege,
A cruel curse and lie of sanctities.
To yield—to claim—a life for all the years,
To have no will alone, no act apart,
Each alien to the other—still enchained—
Is death—of self the direst suicide.
Better to seek, to wait, aye, ne'er to find;
Like the lorn whippoorwill who poured his plaint
Fast, far, amid the silences of dawn,
In tuneful agony, belate, bereft,
Bewildered, with heart breaking for his mate.
To force the portals of this guarded place
And pass unbidden and unblest of love,
Without atonement, to the temple shrine,
This is to violate divine decree
And desecrate th' Arcanum of the heart.

For thus to wed is but a money-league,
The chaffering merchandise of rank or place,
A formal contract of attorneyship,
Impulse, or instinct, custom, pique or pride.
Sometimes, of habit toleration grows,
Until the countless subtle threads of life,
As viewless gossamer, will weave a web
Of simple, plain, drab, homespun amity:
But others bear till death hearts scarred and seared,
A martyrdom of fiery yearnings still
That glow beneath the ashes of dead hope;
Not few alas! do fret and chafe the bond
Till madness calls some devil sunder it.

But ah! when love, his odorous lamp aflame,
Leads, singing soft and sweet, so none may hear
But happy they who follow, hand in hand,
The mystery is solved, its joy possessed.
It whispers and allures; they learn the clue,
Through all its mazes back to paradise;
Along a path, which though it cross betimes,
A desert woe, a golden hill-top joy,
A vale of peace with fragrant fruitage fair,
Andean steeps or cavern depths of life,
Yet each is good, as love transfigures all.

For love alone can marriage consecrate;
Not priest's amen, or flippant vow of lips,
A notary's license or the crowd's applause,
Pomp, usage, or the mandate of a court—
These are but veilings, of true wedlock's self.

Love-led the pair to their espousals come
As princes to the throne, scholars to fame,
Or priests of God to ordination true;
It is the oath which wins a mystic crown
To rule with joy a new domain of life;
It is a quickening touch to intellect
Whereof the sign, like a diploma's seal,
Is marriage, when the student graduates
From all the puzzlement of life's lone tasks;
It is the holy unction, kiss of peace,
Imposing hand, that marks a priesthood to
The shrine and cloister of a perfect life.

"It is not good for man to be alone"—
Apart the twinned soul's an orphan lost,
And wanders like a star disorbed;
In solitude the heart is homesick for
This ordered law of life's completeness;
The inspiration of a common thought,
In vast, vague outermosts of mind and heart;
The solace of unfailing sympathy,
Of intercourse whose insight comprehends
The inmost, deepest, veritable self;
The homely raptures of the fireside clime,
Sweet shrine of sacrifice, duty's delight;
Tears, smiles, through all life's large and little things,
Like notes which chime a wordless ecstasy,
Tuned far above mere passion's thrilling tones,
And based in reason's diapason deep,
Embracing both in complex symphony
Of life, from aspiration's cloudy heights
To simplest pain or pleasure of the flesh;
The mystics of profound and pondering thought,
The plain, fine service of all lowly toil—
All sure are girdled in this unity,
When love, rare flower of Eden, slow unfolds
Its petals, hesitant with doubt and fear,
Or, like the cereus, swiftly, strangely bares
Its heart in one, wild palpitating throb.

The twain are one, separate in multitudes;
Or companied in dearest amity
The utmost isle has lost its loneliness.
They rest in peace on nature's mother-heart,
And learn from her old wisdom precious lore
Of life, and love, and marriage meanings deep.

For love is life; the soul brims full with wine,
The rare, red vintage of the vine of life,
And all its powers awake from lethargy,
As when almighty love breathed sweetly on
The clayey Adam, and his soul awoke.

Oh! why hath God made all the greatest things
So high, so hard, unsimple to the choice?
It is to set us searching for himself,
To teach that ever as we range afar,
Or delve the deepest, Him we surely find;
Pearls in the sea-deeps lie, and jewels rare
Far down in rocks which long ago did feel
The fires, fierce, fusing, of creative force,
And God is there; the dews that nightly fall,
The rain drops of the showery day, distill
From skyey mysteries, and God is there—
Here, there, all mystery within, He rules;
But most is here—for God is love,
And marriage is its sacrament.

AUSTIN MATLACK COURTENAY.

Delaware, Ohio.

SOLILOQUY

THE church, O Lord, is empty; I alone
Kneel here for prayer within the quiet nave.
No choirs of men or angels sing—no priest
Is praying at an altar rare with gems.
Yet thou art here! I find thee in my soul!
My heart is altar; thou art Priest and Choir.
Thy voice, though still and small, is sweet; and falls
Upon my troubled spirit like a balm
For every pain. I pray for nought but thee;
If thou but love me I am rich in truth.

The street, O Lord, is crowded; I am shoved
And jostled by the hard, unheeding throng.
These men have faces dark with dust and sweat;
Their eyes are sparkless, blind to truth and good.
Canst thou be here? None seems to heed thy voice
That warns and pleads and woos and ever flings
Its challenge to the men who will not hear;
Thou canst not, surely, love such dullard clods!
O God, forgive my pride! Till these I love,
How can I hope to be beloved by thee?

• CECIL V. RISTOW

Whitewater, Wis.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

BIMONTHLY BREVITIES

HERBERT HOOVER recently said: "This civilization is not going to depend so much on what we do when we work as what we do in our time off." This is a profound truth. Far more important than material manufacture is the creation of character. The essential element in human life is not prosperity in the sense of property, but the growth of more perfect personality. It is both reasonable and righteous to reduce the work hours of a day, but still more important is the workman's use of the longer time given for other activities. It ought to mean more family fellowships, more creative culture, more unselfish service and, above all, more true spiritual relationship both with God and man. Why not make this the text for Independence Day?

"AMERICA first!" is largely the shout of those Tories of the present United States who are trying to make America worst. Our country, because of its history, its racial relationship, its geographical situation, its superior wealth and strength, and its democratic doctrine, could easily become first in the service of humanity and the birth of universal brotherhood in all the earth. Those who make American patriotism mainly a motive for big navy and military preparedness are not one hundred per cent Americans but less than one half of one per cent. Our Declaration of Independence bases its claim not upon national, but upon all human rights. It asserts the equality of rights not merely to Americans but to all created mankind. The present Machiavellianism of some of our politicians is utterly unpatriotic and is damaging our destiny. But they will not win.

CIVIL liberty, so strongly stated by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence was also, largely by his influence, placed in the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Some of these unseen empires organized in America to-day are violating both the Declaration and the Constitution by the blacklisting of free speech. Let everybody talk if you really want right to win. Far safer than all the secret pussyfooting of revolutionary mutiny is allowing an open forum for all opinion. It is

time for us to recognize that the American Revolution was a leadership of world freedom as well as the formation of a great republic. The background of this is that kingdom of God, taught by Jesus, whose Constitution is the Sermon on the Mount.

"PLEAD thou my cause," is the petition of a New Testament apostle. This was a confession of sin, but how audacious for any criminal to demand that the Judge become his advocate. Yet how true it is that when we can say nothing for ourselves and all creature voices are silent God will speak for us. As the father with the prodigal, so our Father silences confession with a kiss of pardon. Faith can reach far beyond the condemned cell, up above the encompassing clouds of condemnation, out into the realm of changeless love. Mercy is far higher and greater than all the reach of law and justice. "Wouldst thou be safe from God, flee unto God."

LIFE is full of illusion; the ideal and the real rarely meet. Perpetual is the contradiction between dreams and reality. So we are being led on by a perpetual advancing ideal which we may not readily reach but should always follow. The truth of life's promise is for the soul and not the body. The soul is a ship that dips too deep for the shallows of the finite. This world with all its wealth and worth is not good enough for us. We are greater than the world. But God spreads for us no Barmecide feast when he makes himself our portion. "Give me great thoughts"—even the greatest of all which is God. "I shall be satisfied with thy likeness when I wake."

A FORMER Minister of Foreign Affairs in Italy, Count Carlo Sforza, made this striking statement:

"We made the Oriental believe during a century that our civilization was higher. Now they have judged us through our deeds, not caring who may have been right or wrong in the last year. All our Western prestige has sunk there."

It is possible that both to China and India white peril is visaged as a greater danger to themselves than what we have often described as yellow peril could ever be to us. When the Occidental world becomes really religious and puts the Christian spirit into all politics, business and social relationship it will win the Orient not by power but by love. The trouble is that Europe and America are as really pagan in most of the connective elements in life as are Asia and Africa. We need a new revival which not only saves persons as individuals but creates that entire sanctification which will apply perfect love to all the relationships of mankind.

FATHER HECKER, that Papal priest, who founded the Paulist Fathers for the proselytization of Protestants to Romanism, was doubtless a most pious and earnest evangelist of that sort. But his belief was rather more doctrinaire than a personal saving faith. A story is told that when he was being trained for ordination he met a rather startling dogma and asked, "Does the church say that we are to believe that?" and, when assured that it did, he responded, "Then I believe it!" Some Protestants to-day are as bigoted and opinionative as this devout Romanist, placing all their emphasis on the confessional and institutional life of that second-hand, deteriorated Protestantism of the seventeenth century rather than on the spiritual experience of the evangelical movement of the eighteenth. Nothing but new birth and the holy life will secure genuine orthodoxy.

MISBEHAVIORISM is a quite accurate title of much of the mechanistic psychology which is to-day perverting psycho-physics. There is a best seller just out by Harvey Wickham, called *Misbehaviorism*, which we commend to all our readers as rich both in humor, psychology and philosophy. Man never has been and never will become a manufactured Robot, a mere machine. Even those extreme Behaviorists to whom glands are more important than brains possess minds more real than they claim to have.

CHRISTIANITY has not failed, as has been too cheaply charged in current thought. But many so-called Christians are failures and not a few denominational churches are too impotently flunking. But Christ is not a failure. For all mankind to go back to Christ is to go forward to certain victory. Nothing is more a failure than selfish nationalism, than war as a means of triumph, than big business for profit rather than service, than mere sport in place of divine pleasure, and than all purely partisan politics. The life of sacred love will ever be triumphant both in time and eternity.

POLITICS has become a most perverted word. Its etymologic and historic meaning is really social and civil ethics. But it has come to mean selfish partisan chicanery and is no longer moral or even polite. Many politicians to-day in their demagoguery ridicule all idealism in government as utterly impractical. Perfect ethics in politics as certainly as in religion, though it may never be perfectly achieved, is the true law of all social as well as individual action.

SURVIVAL after death is claimed by such a great scientist as Sir

Oliver Lodge to have some proof in certain psychic phenomena, such as those that come by means of spiritual seances. But such survival, even if proven by such manifestations, is not one with immortality. It is merely a secondary existence the length of which is unknown. But such seances cannot be classed with the discoveries of science in its laboratories. Telepathy, clairvoyance, and other eccentric theories may be real, but add little to psychologic knowledge. Worst of all, none of these manifestations, even if honestly revealed, clearly demonstrate the identity of that mystic communicator with the departed person in the unseen world. Spiritism is not religious; it is a bit of rather speculative physical science.

WOULD Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, or Abraham Lincoln, who freed the United States from slavery, be excluded from addressing pretentious patriotic organizations to-day when they read these quotations from those heroes of freedom?

"Resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it always to be kept alive. It will often be exercised when left alone, but it would better be exercised than not at all."—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

"Whenever the American people grow weary of their existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to overthrow it."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Both these statements were very radical, but our country did not slump into disorder through their influence.

HERE is an apocalyptic description of our glorified Lord; he is the "Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." And that just means that creation and redemption are one and that all the lintel-posts of the universe are sprinkled with the blood of the everlasting covenant. Vicarious atonement is in the eternal nature of God, for "Love is atonement." The passion and death of Jesus Christ are more than an awful solitary tragedy of a few hours' duration on one little hill of earth. The three hours agony is a piece cut out of eternity to show us what all the everlasting years are to the eternal heart; and that Cross of Calvary is a bit taken from infinity to reveal of what material of mercy the omnipresent God is made. Well does Paul say of Christ that he descended and ascended that "he might fill all things."

THE BEAUTY OF JESUS¹

Thou art fairer than the children of men.—Psa. 45. 2.

He hath no form nor comeliness; and when we see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him.—Isa. 53. 2.

IN the context of the passage from which the text is taken we see sharply contrasted the two great historical ideals of Israel—that of sovereignty and service. In the Messianic hope, Israel is seen through its coming king ruling the world in righteousness; on the other hand, in the prophetic vision, Israel, through its representative, the Suffering Servant of Jehovah, is pictured as serving the world through surrender and sacrifice. In the New Testament both these ideals of sovereignty and service are applied to Jesus Christ, who has taught the world that service and sovereignty are one; that a shameful cross may be the most glorious throne; that the servant of all is, by that very fact, Lord of all.

While we see clearly enough, in the main, how these diverging ideals have found harmonious interpretation in our Lord, yet it is not so easy to reconcile the details of the two pictures. How can we make the gracious and alluring beauty of the King agree with the uncomely and repelling features of the Servant? Was Jesus beautiful? And if he were, how shall we see in him the marred visage that so disappointed the desire of man?

No authentic portrait of the Master has reached us. The legend of Veronica and the napkin with which she wiped the bloody sweat from his suffering face on the way to the cross, and which ever after bore the imprint of the sorrowful lineaments, like the other mediæval tale which credits the conventional portrait to the artistic gifts of Saint Luke the evangelist, is but a beautiful fable born of the loving longing of minds too prone to marvelous fancies. Yet in all the representations made in the different ages of the church, there is sufficient likeness to suggest some common artistic tradition which may have had a basis in reality.

In spite of these common features, the pictures of Jesus drawn by different times and schools have been very different. The youthful and joyous Good Shepherd of the catacombs was born of a simple and child-like faith and the first gladness of the gospel proclamation. The stern and gloomy king of the Byzantine mosaics is a fit ideal for the faith that had grown imperial and despotic. The emaciated victim of the mediæval painters echoes the ascetic feeling of that long hermitage of the human

¹ This is a sermon delivered by the ENRON about twenty-five years ago, and, being now out of print, is again published at the request of many friends.—G. E.

spirit. Yet it is only a confused image which these make when we try to combine them in our minds into some pictorial unity.

Perhaps it is well that we have no picture. Each of us can frame for ourselves his likeness, and hang upon the walls of our imagination the face whose features are born of our own love's longing and our own inward communings with him. How manifold the images we form of him! To the child, he still lies on his mother's breast, or with open-eyed wonder stands putting strange questions to the temple sages; to the laborer, he is still the carpenter toiling in the Nazareth workshop; to the tempted, he still meets the hard testing of the will in the wilderness and vanquishes the tempter by his unshaken trust; to the weary, he still sits resting upon the wayside well; to the bereaved, he still weeps beside the mourners at the tomb; to the tortured heart, he still endures Gethsemane's agony and bears its bloody sweat. We have seen "the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ," but it was the glory of "grace and truth," which bears for us the changing reflection of all our earthly vicissitudes.

The religious art of the world has responded to this varied idealization. Each nation and race has painted a Christ of its own; artists have everywhere seen in him their own ideal. In marble and on canvas the one conventional face has passed through the metamorphic fires of all human experience and feeling; it saddens with sorrows, is distorted with pain; melts in tenderness, shines in the transfiguring light of joy, is hard set with determined courage, and calm with fathomless peace.

Can you not see how hard it is to answer the question, Is Christ beautiful? The truth is, that he is beautiful or repulsive according to the sympathy with him which is in the heart of the beholder. The prophet expresses the aspect of Jesus to the world that despises and rejects him; the psalmist paints the exultant vision of the church that loves and worships him.

I. HE IS WITHOUT BEAUTY TO THE SPIRIT OF THIS WORLD

The picture of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah pictures the place which he holds in the world's regard: "We esteemed him not." The martyr and the victim are not welcomed by the natural heart of man; still less, the atoning sacrifice. And so it has become his lot to be the best beloved and the worst hated of all things. When at last the predestined Victim came in the flesh, he won the cruel hate of all but a very few, and they were willing to die with him and for him.

1. *He is marred by suffering.* The sufferer is the problem of philosophy and the test of faith. Pain is the world's chief mystery, the stumbling-block of humanity. Men are staggered by the unfailing

tragedy which somewhere touches every life; it puzzles the reason, confuses the conscience, and paralyzes the will. The earliest literatures of all peoples are anxiously concerned about the sufferer. Tortured Prometheus, writhing on Caucasus while the vultures prey upon his vitals, is but a type of the anguished victim who strides through all the literature and art of the world with maddened brain and bleeding heart, making futile guesses at the unexplained agony of our human life. Only as men forget the sufferer have they found the fair ideals of passionless peace or glowing joy in which the sense of beauty rejoices.

Beauty is the child of joy; it has no relation with the bed of pain or the horror of the shadow of death. We look for it, and we see it, not in the wrinkles of age, the emaciation of disease, the weary lines of pain or the writhings of youth, but in the glowing vigor of health and the smiles of gladness.

Our Lord is a "Man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." In his weary, weeping face, marred with the experience of suffering and sympathetically reflecting a world's woe, the world sees that which it most abhors and from which it shrinks instinctively.

Jesus may have been a beautiful babe. All lines of possible human loveliness may have marked the form pressed against the Holy Virgin's breast. Doubtless it was a fair-faced boy that grew up in the humble home at Nazareth and charmed the doctors with its grace as the sweet lips spoke words of more than childish wisdom in the temple. That boyish beauty did not, could not last. His whole life-story, with its culminating tragedy, was only fitted to mar the loveliness which had filled Mary's heart with fond pride as he lay in her loving arms. Nay, she herself, who was "full of grace," became at last the very mother of sorrows. And Jesus, when at last the lines of premature age and care write themselves in his face, at last flayed by the Roman scourge and torn by the thorny crown, his hair and beard clotted with his own gore and the spittle of rude soldiers' insult, when Pilate cries, "Behold the man!" Was he beautiful? Let Guido's pathetic picture, "Ecce Homo," partly tell the story. The world has looked in answer to Pilate's challenge and turned away in repulsion, finding no beauty in him, that they should desire him.

2. *The suffering Saviour is a repellent ideal to the pagan spirit.* A skeptical historian has written that the painted crucifix is "the most repulsive object ever presented to the groaning adoration of mankind." Such is the real spirit of all mundane culture, not always so frankly avowed. The Hellenists of Greece and Rome, who were dismayed by the conquests of the pale Galilean; the sensuous epicures of the Italian

Renaissance drunken with their sense of beauty, and our modern Neo-Pagans, who prate of "art for art's sake"—all are but so many expressions of the world-spirit to which the preaching of the Cross is foolishness. The pagan ideal is one of abounding health and of sensuous beauty, untouched by any hint of the world's woe, and, in its buoyant joyousness, far away from the "Man of sorrows, acquainted with grief." No wonder that our æsthetic class have little shame to prefer Apollo to the Christ, and Venus to the Madonna.

In a popular French romance, of which Swinburne says,

"This is the golden book of spirit and sense,
The holy writ of beauty,"

it is written:

"O ancient world! all that you held in reverence is held in scorn by us. Thine idols are overthrown in the dust; fleshless anchorites clad in rags and tatters, martyrs with the blood fresh on them and their shoulders torn by the tigers of the circuses, have perched themselves on the pedestal of thy fair, desirable gods. The Christ has enveloped the whole earth in his winding-sheet. . . . O purity, plant of bitterness, born on a blood-soaked soil, and whose degenerate and sickly blossom expands with difficulty in the damp shade of cloisters, under a chill baptismal rain; rose without scent and spiked all round with thorns, . . . the ancient world knew thee not. O sterile flower! thou wast never enwoven in its chaplets of delirious perfume. In that vigorous and healthy society, they would have spurned thee under foot disdainfully. Purity, mysticism, melancholy—three words unknown to thee, three new maladies brought into our life by the Christ!"

Ah, yes! our worldlings "spurn under foot disdainfully" the Christian conception of a suffering Saviour. It finds the frank, full, and, let us hope, final statement in its favorite philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche, the chosen teacher of thousands of our very modern young men, whose indictment against Christianity is that—

"Everything strong, brave, domineering, and proud has been eliminated out of the concept of God, when he sinks step by step to the symbol of a staff for the fatigued, a sheet-anchor for all drowning ones; when he becomes a poor people's God, the God of the sick *par excellence*, . . . the God of the nooks, the God of all dark places and corners, of all unhealthy quarters throughout the world! His world empire is still, as formerly, an underworld empire, a hospital, a subterranean empire, a Ghetto empire, and he himself, so pale, so weak, so decadent!"

Nietzsche has a fine gift for blasphemy; forgive me for quoting his wild ravings. I would not defile this holy place and hour with this foul creed of æstheticism and culture were it not well that our worldly Christians may for once stand face to face with the logical outcome of the secular scheme of life. Every soul who shrinks from the cross, and

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thereby affirms an outward and selfish aim for life, has practically denied spirit and declined to the worship of sense.

3. *The ideal of sacrifice and suffering seems to destroy the beauty of life as it appears to the natural man.* The whole conception of the Christian life as found in the New Testament is most repellent to unregenerate nature. Jesus makes the shadow of the cross fall across the whole of life. "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it." We are called to be "crucified with Christ," called to the "fellowship of his sufferings." He has set up his cross in the pathway of our dearest longings and most ardent desires; our selfishness turns away from his sad features to the smiling welcome of the god of this world.

Youth does not find him beautiful; for he is the rival to their frivolous pleasures, the spoil-sport of thoughtless mirth. He is shunned as a social kill-joy by those who forget how he made glad the marriage feast. The question of worldly amusements is a much deeper one than appears to the Pharisee fond of a perceptive morality. Worldliness as a spirit is a far more subtle and dangerous enemy of our Master than is dreamed of by the narrow precisians who construct for the Christian life a crazy-quilt of negative requirements, and call that spirituality! "In the name of the Lord Jesus" is a phrase whose wide meaning is the last test of loyalty. The cross stands at the parting of the ways where youth makes the great decision.

The business man finds him a meddler and marplot, a hindrance to all selfish gains. We no longer erect crosses in the market-place; commerce has little place for the spirit of sacrifice.

Society does not desire a suffering Saviour. It is largely made up of surfaces, and is enamored of surface beauty. It loves physical comfort and luxury, and shrinks from self-denial. The name of a hospital on the program of the charity ball is about as near as the world of fashion dares to come to the purlieu of pain. The great trinity of the world-spirit, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life," stands squarely opposed to the divine passion whose love finds its consummation, sorrow and sacrifice.

4. *The church is in danger of ignoring the prophet's ideal.* Even those who profess discipleship are lukewarm in his service and shirk his utmost demands. He asks so much and seems to promise so little. He asserts his right, and offers no pleasures in return. The church too often tries to hide the cross. It has tampered with the gospel and painted a meretricious and sensuous heaven; it has glossed over the hard sayings

of the Master, and explained away the mountain teaching and the cross example. Another Paul might well cry out, in the presence of the easy-going, time-serving religion, too prevalent in every age of the church, "Then is the offense of the cross ceased?"

In the effort to make religion attractive, laudable enough if we appeal to the real ground of its attractiveness, we are in danger of concealing its central truth, the atoning sacrifice, and its demand for the cross-bearing life. Like the crosses shaped of virgin gold and gemmed with diamonds, that adorn the breast of beauty; like the Easter crosses of languishing lilies or voluptuous roses, that deck our altars of worship—so has the church striven by æsthetic arts to suppress the sufferer and only see the conquering King.

You profess to admire him; you have exhausted human arts to make music to praise him, and rich crowns to deck his brow, why, then, do you not really follow him as he commanded? why do you prefer pleasure, gain, worldly success, and all selfish ends? It is all in vain that we hang garlands on the cross; the rough wood is there, with the cruel tearing of the nails and the sharp torment of the thorns. "His visage is marred more than the sons of men." There is no beauty in him to the spirit of this world.

II. HE IS ALTOGETHER LOVELY TO THOSE WHO TRULY LOVE AND FOLLOW HIM

"Thou art fairer than the children of men." What if the psalmist is right, and he is beautiful after all? What if our æscetic standards are wrong and true beauty something quite other than we have dreamed? May not the whole world be as utterly blind as the Hottentot who prefers his fat Venus to the classic lines of the Venus of Milo? If we do not desire him, the fault is ours; our standard is false. Our appetite, perverted at the banquet of earthly delights, has lost relish for the bread of heaven; our fine dresses seem fairer and richer than the robes of righteousness; our jewels shine more splendidly to our sight than the "pearl of great price."

1. *In holy Scripture our Lord is as closely associated with beauty as with suffering.* The most beautiful things are used to describe him. He calls himself the Bridegroom, and to this lover of the soul we have, with reason, applied the glowing images of the nuptial odes ascribed to Solomon. He is the "fairest among ten thousand," and is "altogether lovely." He is the Rose of Sharon, all garden beauties pale in the sight of his loveliness; he is the Lily of the Valley, outrivaling all forest fragrances; he is the bright and the Morning Star, most brilliant of all the orbs that

glorify the night; he is the Sun of righteousness, the world's fountain of light and beauty.

He is at once the archetype and the artificer of all beauty. In his eternal imagining it was born, and by his creative energy brought to birth. All tints are painted by his brush, all forms created by his touch.

He dearly loved beautiful things. Flowers blossomed in his speech and the bird-song lent softer music to his voice. Little children—those buds of the world's promise, fair with the fresh beauty of all first things, the first light of morning, the first flowers of spring, and the golden age of the world—were welcomed to his arms and made glad by his blessing. He chose for his favorite haunts the loveliest spots in the Holy Land, the hills about Nazareth, the grand heights of Hermon, and the rippling waters of sweet Galilee.

All beauty is at last the beauty of God, and Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is "the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person." Was he a hungry peasant in a working garb, tired, fatigued, lonely, with hands hardened at the carpenter's bench, and raiment dusty with weary wanderings? Still the glory at times shone through, until upon Hermon, in transfigured splendor, heaven breaks through the walls of earth and the chosen three beheld his glory. How the vision burned itself into their souls! They never could forget it, and a generation later Peter writes, "We were eyewitnesses of his majesty, for he received from God the Father honor and glory"; while, surviving two generations, the best beloved, who had lain on his bosom and seen deepest into his heart, cries, "We beheld his glory!"

2. *The beauty of Jesus is the beauty of the duty ideal.* Beauty is more than form and color: it lies deeper than the flesh, and its deepest life is in the soul. Even the Greeks, with all their delight in physical grace and symmetry, felt this, and loved to use their word for beauty as a synonym for goodness.

I slept, and dreamed that life was beauty;
I woke, and found that life was duty.

The waking thought does not deny the glory of the dream. The worldly ideal is true enough, but too narrow to express the fullness of life. For life is more than shapely form, and glowing tint, and sensuous charm. It is more than feeling; it is also thought and action. The beauty of Jesus is the nobler beauty of the deed; his will moves always on the lines of a diviner perfection. That which is best in us worships moral above merely physical beauty. Duty! it hath no form nor comeliness; it is grim-

visaged with the awful severity of law; yet, to the obedient, it takes an angelic grace. Well does Wordsworth say in his "Ode to Duty":

Stern lawgiver! yet thou dost wear
The Godhead's most benignant grace;
Nor know we anything so fair
As is the smile upon thy face.
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,
And fragrance in thy footing treads.

The duty ideal bears the marks of wounds. It can achieve its highest only by the way of sacrifice. Its hands are hard with toil; its back is bent with burdens; its features are deep-lined with care; it is scarred and marred by suffering. And yet it, too, is beautiful. To be sure, a fond and doting mother would prefer her son, a finely formed athlete in the glory of youthful strength and abounding health, rather than a helpless cripple or a wasted consumptive. But there is something better than that! She knew it when he came home bearing the glorious scars of a heroic deed, won in defense of God or home or native land. Love sees love's service in the marred face, and leaps out to meet it in a new admiration, whose tenderness finds it more fair than all old fondness ever dreamed.

Love means suffering. Sacrifice is its utmost expression. Even Plato, most Christian of all pagan seers, knew that the face of love must be a marred face. In the *Symposium* he says:

"Love is always poor, and is far from being fair and tender as the many suppose, but is lean, ill-formed, shoeless, and homeless, a poor, penniless wanderer, sleeping at doorways, or on waysides with the sky above him."

Even so the love that was divine in form and feature did not think that likeness of glory a thing worth his grasping, but, stripping himself of heavenly splendors, assumed the form of the slave, and "being formed in fashion as a man, became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross," and thus he won the crown of highest sovereignty.

In this moral beauty, Jesus has no rival; he is the "fairest of the children of men." It is the voice of Jehovah in the same psalm: "Because thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." To our inward sense the cross, with all its shame, stands as the loveliest thing in all the universe. It stands as the symbol of the deed of all deeds most beautiful; it shines with the beauty of God, revealing the soft splendor of

For so the Word had flesh, and wrought
With human hands the creed of creeds,
In loveliness of perfect deeds
More strong than all poetic thought.

redeeming love.

3. *The beauty of the suffering Saviour is a spiritual beauty.* There is a "light that never was on land or sea," a glory that the eyes of sense shall never see—it is the beauty of the redeemed spirit, and is seen only by spiritual vision. Bodily beauty is only skin-deep, and to the gaze that penetrates beneath the surface it vanishes; the X-rays reveal the skeleton.

Modern art has not rivaled the Greek power of expression; its real and surpassing glory is, that it has dared to attempt more, has tried to interpret the spirit of man. In Christian art a new kind of beauty has been born, a rare and exquisite thing, luminous with the radiance of the unseen world. Hear Robert Browning portray this deeper ideal:

Paint man, man, whatever the issue!
 Make new hopes shine through the flesh they fray,
 New fears aggrandize the rags and tatters;
 To bring the invisible into full play,
 Let the visible go to the dogs! what matters?

The sight of the worldling cannot compass this nobler vision; he cannot see the real beauty of the marred face. It must be "spiritually discerned." But the eyes of spiritual insight see beneath all mere prettiness. External fairness may cover spiritual foulness. As in the Greek fable, let the philosopher's gaze fall on the comely face of Lamia, and the enchantment breaks, and she is seen to be what she is, a serpent. Ah! it is saddening enough sometimes, this sudden revelation of character, blazing through its outward mask. We visited the palaces of pleasure and pride, and mingled in the glad gayety of society, and suddenly the revealing flash came. We saw beneath the fair faces that smiled on us the signs of approaching corruption, the petty vanity, the selfish spirit, the suppressed ill-temper, the disguised deceit, the lines of cruelty and of sensuality. Ugliness was there, hiding beneath the mask of beauty, and the fair face was fair no more. Yes, and often beneath plain features and uncouth forms our eyes have caught a glimpse of a shining soul; it was a hint of the spiritual body which transforms earth's dishonor into heaven's glory; it was a foregleam of the resurrection.

The peasant artist, Millet, has in immortal pictures portrayed beauty hidden beneath homely things and homely lines. O, if we could only see souls, the world would be changed to us! Many a fair face would grow hideous, and many a deformed body would shine as the casket of spiritual and immortal loveliness.

And this is the beauty of our Lord. All heavenly ideals have left their lines of beauty in his perfect character and perfect life. This is the beauty of the glorified Lord, who, having been made "perfect through suffering," has now shined in human hearts through the effusion of the

Spirit. It is the beauty and glory of God, and it shines for us in the face of Jesus Christ.

4. *The suffering Saviour is not an ascetic ideal.* Jesus is neither æsthetic nor ascetic. He does not correspond to the standards of worldly desire and esteem; neither do his life and teaching give any countenance to those who would abandon the world, despising its beauty and neglecting its duty. The stoic, the Buddhist, the monk say: "Renounce! flee from this dying, decaying world! Give yourself wholly to the unseen life." But the cross simply erects a new scale of values; in its light the world becomes a means and not an end. We learn to "use the world as not abusing it." To this illumined vision the creation, once our delight, gains a new glory as revealing the Creator. Its mountain altars become white with the snows of his holiness, and kindle their altar-fires at the touch of his finger; its lilies are the spotless raiment of his purity, and all the flowers of the field are fragrant with his breath; the breezes swing the censer of perpetual incense. Therefore has God kindled the mornings, embroidered the meadows, and hung the lamps of the midnight, that we might see in it all the "living visible garment of God."

Earth's crammed with heaven,
And every common bush aflame with God.

The ascetic ideal sees only the marred face of the sufferer, the figure without "form or comeliness," and does not behold the real beauty in and beneath it. For asceticism is devoid of love, and love is linked with beauty in all philosophies and all faiths. Denial of the world is not self-denial. The Man of Sorrows "came into the world to save sinners"; the mystic devotee goes out of the world to save himself. The whitest sanctity of the kingdom cannot be achieved by cloistered souls. The sneer of culture has too often identified Christianity with asceticism, and on that ground given its suffrage to the "healthy sensuality" of paganism. That is to miss the meaning of the cross. Atoning sacrifice, vicariously borne through a voluntary act of all-surrendering love—that is the supreme beauty of Jesus. Listen to the words of the great prophet poet, who sings the song of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah:

But our sickness alone he bore,
And our pains—he carried them,
Whilst we esteemed him stricken
Smitten of God and afflicted.

But alone he was humiliated because of our rebellions,
Alone he was crushed because of our iniquities;
A chastisement, all for our peace, was upon him,
And to us came healing through his stripes.

All we, like sheep, had gone astray,
We had turned every one to his own way,
While Jehovah made to light upon him
The iniquity of us all.

Forasmuch as he poured out his life-blood,
And let himself be reckoned with the rebellious,
While it was he who had borne the sin of many,
And for the rebellious had interposed.

That is no picture of ascetic renunciation to win personal perfection, but of loving self-denial for the salvation of others.

O, my beloved, does the sermon need any application? Does not the uplifted Christ draw you? Does not that vision of mingled sorrow and love touch some finer sense than all the fair shows of the world's pleasure, power, or pride? Will you win for yourself this higher beauty? There is something gladder than pleasure, more glorious than gain, more splendid than success. It is found in the way of the cross, in the footsteps of Jesus.

There is a beauty that lies beyond beauty, and can be reached only by the road of pain. My friend had a noble voice, that had been carefully trained by the greatest masters. It was a noble organ, used with matchless technique. Yet, somehow, it did not touch us. We admired, but were not thrilled in the depths of the spirit. Suddenly a great sorrow came into her life, and it has added the note of true passion to the glorious voice, and made it sovereign to sway hearts. The men of sorrows have given the world its truly greatest poems, pictures, and music.

"They learned in suffering what they teach in song."

Even so, the life of truest loveliness, of highest holiness and noblest service, is wrought out only by the discipline of pain. We are, like our Lord, "made perfect through suffering." Walking in the way of the cross, by the transfiguring power of the Lord, the Spirit, we shall be "changed into the same image, even from glory into glory."

Sovereignty and service, the King and the sufferer—in the human God and the divine man we find united the ideals of beauty and duty. They may be so united in our lives: "If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him." The Cross and the crown meet in the Christian conception of life; for loving self-surrender and spiritual mastery are one. The beauty of Jesus—it may be ours. "Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us."

KNOWING ALL THINGS

Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things.—
1 John 2. 20.

MORE than half a century ago, the Editor of the METHODIST REVIEW, on entering the ministry, heard a striking sermon by Bishop Gilbert Haven on this astounding text. Nothing of that prophetic message can be remembered to-day excepting its spiritual power. Yet he dares to expound it to our readers as a needed lesson of to-day.

That passage was the words of an aged apostle to younger disciples. Preceded by a warning, it presented an assurance. That period was a very crisis of the world, a time of transition and of mental unrest. Shadows were closing around; a cycle in history was ending. Soon the bolt which had already fallen on Jerusalem would strike Rome also. It is in such times that weak and timid souls make shipwreck of their faith and take up with the newest fads of current thought. So John tries to tell how we may distinguish truth from error. There is a constant relation between goodness, knowledge and power as there is between sin, ignorance and inertia in life. He affirms that spiritual fellowship with the Lord furnishes a test of truth. He who loyally clings to Christ possesses an illumination which shall secure him against all error.

There are necessary limits to the statement that all of us may know everything. Taken baldly, it excites the folly of the fanatic and is calculated to arouse the sneers of the agnostic. It sounds like an extravagant assertion of human omniscience, a sort of claim to know all secrets of the past, all the wonders of the present and all the mysteries of the future; a miraculous mastery of all history, science and philosophy.

Certainly there is no such infallibility either at Rome or at home. This knowledge of all things has no relation to that Papal claim, "It hath pleased the Holy Ghost and us." Hence came that cynical phrase about "having the Holy Ghost in a portmanteau." There is no objective or unerring authority to which we can thus appeal, either to the church or the holy Book of God. None of us, however pious, dare set ourselves up as oracles. We cannot impose our opinions upon others. Indeed this very text by its emphasis on the universality of the gift of knowledge to all individual Christians is itself a denial of any private or located authority on truth. Such a prerogative of all the faithful can never be monopolized by an individual or a class.

No formal knowledge is imported by this promise. It does not supersede study and investigation as a duty of the holiest souls. Neither

does it do away with confessions, creeds or catechisms. Not being oracles in any realm of thought we may still stand most humbly before the temple even of physical science, as did Newton, who compared himself to a child gathering pebbles on the shore of an infinite ocean.

This allegation is based on spiritual insight. The pure heart gives the clear vision. The kingdom of highest truth is absolutely closed to sinners. And the unspiritual mind is somewhat like those daughters of the blind Milton who read Latin and Greek to him without knowing a word of either. It is vision from within the circles of divine truth, just as one can see the pictured splendor of a cathedral window better from inside than without. The astronomer may know much physically about the stars, but the inspired prophet can hear them telling the glory of God. One can learn and recite all creeds without really knowing their meaning. It is spiritual insight which gives real meaning to any creed and can say: "I believe in the Father, *my* Father; in the Son, *my* Saviour; in the Holy Spirit, who witnesses in *me*." So one can know Hebrew and Greek, all the dry bones of Biblical knowledge, the entire geography of the Holy Land, and yet the Bible be a sealed book. Christ opens the seals.

But why claim spiritual omniscience? We dare thus vindicate the statement by showing that this is the real key to all knowledge, the clue which followed leads the way to all truth. There is always some one thing which thus known would lead its discoverer to a mastery of the universe of truth. Such was the vision of Lord Tennyson:

Flower of the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies;
Hold you here, root and all, in my hand, little flower;
And if I could understand
What you are root and all and all in all
I should know what God and man is.

So if one could really guess the mystery of the germ in the smallest seed or spell the riddle of the throbbing cell in any body, he would become quite free of the awful problem of life. Nature could withhold no secrets from such a sight.

So even in the external world, such elementary knowledge is a key to all truth. The alphabet is an open door to all written literature. Science rests upon its definitions, categories, axioms, and primary perceptions. The discovery of a single principle may bring into knowledge vast continents of truth. The deed of Columbus held, folded within it, as the tree in the acorn, all America and much of its coming history. Even so, the soul's discovery of new life in Jesus Christ is the open door to an unfold-

ing revelation which holds all heaven in its hand. With its background of a written revelation, it is the rapturous dawn of a new revelation.

It is only vital knowledge which is real knowledge. It is like the difference between a dead bar of iron and the same magnetized. This possession made Shakespeare greater than the more learned Ben Jonson, who said of his friend that he had "small Latin and less Greek." It was an idealistic genius like this which made Robert Burns larger in genuine knowledge than the most learned Scots of his generation.

Can mere scientific learning completely answer any question? Ask about a baby, what is that child? The chemist can say, "It is composed of carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, phosphorus, calcium, sulphur, chlorine, sodium, iron, potassium, magnesium, silicon and other elements"; to the physiologist it is a complex of co-ordinated functions; to the anatomist it is a bunch of bones, sinews, and other organs. But ask its mother! Here is something the eye, inspired by love, can see that none else can. So Christ has set his private mark on every truth in the universe. Inspiration is not an isolated fact confined to past ages. The Spirit still bears witness. God still speaks to the humble trusting heart and "the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him." To know God is to genuinely know all things; the greater includes the less.

The method of knowledge is this "unction from the Holy One," a hallowing from the Hallowed One, a chrism from the Christ. Thus the supreme illumination comes. Unction is a metaphor from the consecration of a king or a priest. Such an anointing in the spiritual sense is the supreme invitation to all knowledge, by which the door leading to the Light is opened—the door out of flesh and sense into the glory of a divine communion. By such a baptism we enter the school of God in which the Holy Spirit is the teacher. He who has a chair in the university of heaven and who searcheth all things, condescends to teach classes on earth, that the human heart may learn what he knows of the mind of Christ. "He shall guide you into all truth."

The search for truth is also the real road to power, for knowledge is power. Every discovery of new truth widens human strength. He who would discover the central original force would be universal conqueror. How physical science has thus sought for unity by the transmutation of metals, the unification of energies, seeking a monism of all matter and force! In Bulwer's *Coming Age* there is described that will power which would dominate all in nature. *We have found it, the PRIMAM MOBILE.* Thus came creation: "The Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters." All other forces, whether material, mental or moral, are but transformations of spiritual power. "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy

Spirit has come upon you." This we need to dispel our ignorance and to strengthen our weakness. "Power to let" in the physical realm may frequently fail, sometimes break down and cannot be used by those too far away. But the power of the Holy Spirit never fails. Unseen, silent, it is furnished freely and can be used by all.

We are still in the antechamber of life. Only our first degrees have been taken. The super-excellent glory awaits us. Bye and bye, God's angel, death, the solemn warden of eternity, shall open the crystal gates of a heavenly state, where the soul, hungry for knowledge and eternal wisdom, shall freely range the spheres of life and light.

HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

THESE brief sermon sketches are all based on texts from the Old Testament. That Hebrew Bible is a real basis for the New Testament Gospel. It is rich in messages that can bring conviction to sinning souls and teachings of duty to the reborn spirit. More of it than the Psalter should be read in public worship. It is a real record of growing divine revelation.

"NOBODY CARES FOR ME"

No man careth for my soul. *Psa. 142.*
1. (Compare with this text *Jer. 30. 17.*)

This Psalm is the wall of the lonely heart of an imprisoned soul. The worst thing in life is not to be bankrupt in fortune or broken in health, but to be bankrupt in character and love. The poorest man is he that has no friends. Forsaken! all the pathos of life is in that word. Sin and selfishness narrows the soul.

1. *It is a Striking Testimony.*—There is a logic of loss as well as of gain. Our wretchedness is a proof of our possible greatness. No animal can be so miserable as man. Sin, suffering, sorrow—all these attest the lost grandeur of the soul.

Man has a soul. We have the same sort of proof of spiritual as of material things. There are two classes of phenomena in our experience—what Spinoza names as extension and thought. The latter, which is mind, is as real as the former, which is matter. To deny the mind as do some Behaviorists is self-degradation. One

would not give a lecture on optics to the blind fish of Mammoth Cave.

The soul is worth something. Measured by its capacity for thought, feeling or volition, by what has been paid for it in atonement, by its eternal existence—all highest values center here. Only Christ has adequately valued the soul. His was the artist eye that can see beauty in the buried marble. Certainly, it needs care. To nothing else is there an equal possibility of either peril or prosperity.

2. *This is a Mournful Complaint.*—"Nobody cares." There is no desolation like such solitude of a heart. The isolations of the forest, desert or ocean are nothing beside the loneliness of the spirit.

Want of sympathy is the real loneliness and isolation of a soul. We can have hosts of acquaintances and neighbors, but few such real friends as will make our needs and woes their own. Sin separates, makes a ghastly solitude, separates man from God, man from man, the soul from the body, self from love.

Have we ourselves this unbrotherly neglect for immortal souls? We care for everything else. A shipwreck rouses us to action, and loss of bodily life fills us with grief—why not shipwrecked and lost souls? An alarm of fire rouses a city to save houses—why do we not ring bells when souls are on fire with evil passions and aflame with hot desires? A lost child fills every heart with pitying effort, but little is felt for souls lost in mazes of error.

When death comes we stand mourning beside the coffin, but who attends the funerals of lost innocence and purity? We ask after each other's health and earthly prosperity, but rarely about the well-being of the soul and its heavenly riches. Let us not dare to say we love each other, when we care only for the bodies of men. Dare we take up the unbrotherly plea of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Selfishness is a heart-killing repulse of souls. The mournful complaint that no one cares is often too well founded. We ought to be eyes to the blind, ears for the deaf, feet to the lame—but we fail, and still more in sharing the deeper sorrow as to a forsaken soul. Are we really saved ourselves, if we do not share Jesus' passion for salvation?

Whittier wrote, "Hope not the cure of sin till self is dead." But in many it is not always well founded. The church is not more responsible for you than you are for yourself. Do you, who make this sad complaint, concerning carelessness, care for any one else's soul? Have you ever given half a thought to the jewel of your own immortality? What is worth the fortunes we heap up, the knowledge we attain, the worldly pleasures we enjoy, if the soul is lost? What shall it profit?

But this pathos is not wholly true; some one does care. God cares. And when man fails to help, turn to God. We are never out of his thought. "He careth for you." (Read that marvelous spiritual lyric by Francis Thompson, "The Hound of Heaven.")

See that empty house, just erected, well appointed and arranged, but unoccupied. Will it remain so? No, love shall tenant there and kindle its fires on the hearthstone. Little children will make it glad with their voices. Such a structure is the soul of man. God has made it for himself and waits to fill it with the joy of his presence.

THE SOUL-MARKET

For thus saith Jehovah, Ye were sold for nought, and ye shall be redeemed without money. Isaiah 53. 3.

The world is a great Vanity Fair, with much to sell—properties, both material and

immaterial. London for money, New York for stocks and bonds, Pittsburgh for steel, Chicago for food, Detroit for autos, etc., but all the world is a market for souls. In every transaction of life, more than material commodities are bought and sold; the inner lives of humanity are bartered.

1. The Commodity and Its Value.—Every man has one of worth—not dollars, houses, lands, machines, etc., but he has a soul at his disposal.

The soul is a supreme organization, one of exquisite mechanism; the best is most silent, judgment, memory, consciousness, feeling, etc. No hand can touch it. Other machines can be mended, but an unbalanced soul off the track no human power can restore. With one sweep of its wings, greater than an aeroplane it circles the universe and over-vaults the throne of God. In the hour of death, it enters the eternity of heaven or hell. Fire cannot burn it, no rocks can crush it, no walls impede it, clouds and darkness cannot obscure it.

Capabilities—for knowledge the soul is boundless, only the body of man has limits. If not, an end of life could be found with no more worlds to conquer. Ever before us stretches the unknown and ever the soul dares face the unseen infinite. It is the one thing that does not fulfill its destiny on earth. The great change came as released from physical fetters, it soars to all realms of surprise, wonder, amazement and rapture. For enjoyment here, it can feel the presence of summer, light and shadows, beauty in all its forms. More than these is the bliss of living, friendship, love—for all these the soul was made. The enjoyments of this world are only anticipation. Yet it has deadly capabilities as well—the suffering of sin, disease, drunkenness, remorse, etc.

What has been done for this supreme commodity? Earthly diamonds have been sold for millions. But for the human soul a stream of crimson rubies, the blood of Christ, came from the very heart of God upon the sands of Calvary.

2. The Dealers of the Market.—All of us are sellers, but there are only two great buyers.

Satan even offered the world to Christ

without winning; he secures many with minor gifts. He is a wild huntsman for souls, who never made an honest bargain in his life.

Christ is the great competitor. "Lover of my soul," he dies to save them all; the devil only wants them because he hates them. In the soul-market of earth, we are redeemed by our Saviour "without money and without price."

3. *Some Quotations in the Market.*—There is a price list not found in the daily newspapers. Never any fixed value is stated. Not all have the same measure. "Every man has his price."

The worldly laws of value are intrinsic and artificial. In a desert pearls are worthless and water may be worth more than gold. What is a man worth? On the auction block in slavery days they were sold for from \$500 to \$1,500. In some States, his family gets \$5,000, if he is killed by a railroad. We may say he is worth a million. But we need to consider it from the view point of Jesus.

The devil's bid is the world—it was only really offered in one case, that of Christ in the mountain temptation. What good is the world to a man who has given away his soul to gain it? It will not last, all earthly offerings will burn up some day. To most of us, even that much is not offered, many sell themselves for smaller things. Bribery, selling a vote, cheap

pleasure, fashion, fame, power, wealth, mere earthly knowledge—for all these temporal things do men forfeit eternal blessing. What Satan gets, he generally gets very cheap. Here are some sellers of souls: Employers (to whom servants are often cheaper than shingles), parents, who part with children by their little care for their highest worth. As we drive sharp bargains with savages, trading mirrors and colored beads for precious ivory and pearls, so are many men silly enough to trade eternity for time and an immortal soul for a fading joy.

If one did get a multitude of worlds for his soul what would it amount to? If a throne were a deathbed, all its pomp and splendor must be laid aside. Jesus talks as if the soul were already lost by sale and asks what will a man give to get it back? What price could man pay? In Switzerland, spots where life has been lost by perilous accident are marked with a black cross. If only we could so mark the places where souls are sold, saloons, big business, midnight clubs, etc.

Read the story of Faust as related by Marlow. Surely the universe is crowded with lost things, gems of a most baleful glow. Worst of all is the army of human souls so cheaply won by sin in the soul-market of earth. "Sold for nought," but by the sacrificial love of Jesus Christ pricelessly redeemed.

EVANGELISTIC PROPAGANDA

CONVERSION

[This is an outline of a sermon by that great evangelist, CHARLES HADDON SPURGEON, based on the text, James 5. 19, 20.]

1. HERE is a great principle involved—a very important one—that of INSTRUMENTALITY.

1. Instrumentality is not necessary with God. God can, if he pleases, cast the instrument aside. The mighty Maker of the world who used no angels to beat out the great mass of nature and fashion it into a round globe, he who, without hammer or anvil, fashioned this glorious

world, can, if he pleases, speak, and it is done, command and it shall stand fast. He needs not instruments, though he uses them. 2. Instrumentality is very honorable to God, and not dishonorable. Suppose a workman has power and skill with his hands alone to fashion a certain article, but you put into his hands the worst of tools you can find; you know he can do it well with his hands, but these tools are so badly made that they will be the greatest impediment that you could lay in his way. Well, now I say, if a man with these bad instruments, or these poor tools—things without edges—that are broken,

that are weak and frail, is able to make some beautiful fabric, he has more credit from the use of those tools than he would have had if he had done it simply with his hands, because the tools, so far from being an advantage were a disadvantage to him; so far from being a help, are on my supposition, even a detriment to him in his work. So God uses instruments to set forth his own glory, and to exalt himself. 3. Usually God does employ instruments. I have heard of some—I remember them now—who were called, like Saul, at once from heaven. We can remember the history of the brother who in the darkness of the night was called to know the Saviour by what he believed to be a vision from heaven, or some effect on his imagination. On one side he saw a black tablet of his guilt, and his soul was delighted to see Christ cast a white tablet over it; and he thought he heard a voice that said, "I am he that blot out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins." There was a man converted almost without instrumentality; but you do not meet with such a case often. Most persons have been convinced by the pious conversation of sisters, by the holy example of mothers, by the minister, by the Sabbath school, or by the reading of tracts or perusing Scripture. 4. If God sees fit to make use of any of us for the conversion of others, we must not therefore be too sure that we are converted ourselves. It is a most solemn thought that God makes use of ungodly men as instruments for the conversion of sinners. Grace is not spoiled by the rotten wooden spouts it runs through. God did once speak by an ass to Balaam, but that did not spoil his words. So he speaks, not simply by an ass, which he often does, but by something worse than that. He can fill the mouth of ravens with food for an Elijah, and yet the raven is a raven still. 5. If God in his mercy does not make us useful to the conversion of sinners, we are not, therefore, to say we are sure we are not the children of God. If I testify to them the truth of God and they reject his gospel; if I faithfully preach his truth, and they scorn it, my ministry is not therefore void. It has not returned to God void, for even in the punishment of those rebels

he will be glorified, even in their destruction he will get himself honor, and if he cannot get praise from their songs, he will at last get honor from their condemnation. 6. God, by using us as instruments, confers upon us the highest honor which men can receive.

II. THE GENERAL FACT

The choicest happiness which mortal breast can know is the happiness of benevolence—of doing good to our fellow-creatures. To save a body from death is that which gives us almost heaven on earth. Those monks on Mount Saint Bernard, surely, must feel happiness when they rescue men from death. The dog comes to the door, and they know what it means: he has discovered some poor, weary traveler who has lain him down to sleep in the snow, and is dying from cold and exhaustion. Up rise the monks from their cheerful fire, intent to act the good Samaritan to the lost one. At last they see him; they speak to him; but he answers not. They try to discover if there is breath in his body, and they think he is dead. They take him up, give him remedies; and hastening to their hostel, they lay him by the fire, and warm and chafe him, looking into his face with kindly anxiety, as much as to say, "Poor creature! art thou dead?" When, at last, they perceive some heavings of the lungs, what joy in the breasts of those brethren, as they say, "His life is not extinct!" Methinks if there could be happiness on earth, it would be the privilege to help to chafe one hand of that poor, almost dying man, and be the means of bringing him to life again. Or suppose another case. A house is in flames, and in it is a woman with her children, who cannot, by any means, escape. In vain she attempts to come downstairs; the flames prevent her. She has lost all presence of mind and knows not how to act. The strong man comes, and says, "Make way! make way! I must save that woman!" And, cooled by the genial streams of benevolence, he marches through the fire. Though scorched and almost stifled, he gropes his way. He ascends one staircase, then another; and though the stairs totter, he places the woman beneath his arms,

takes the child on his shoulder, and down he comes, twice a giant, having more might than he ever possessed before. He has jeopardised his life, and perhaps an arm may be disabled, or a limb taken away, or a sense lost, or an injury irretrievably done to his body; yet he claps his hands, and says: "I have saved lives from death!" The crowd in the street hail him as a man who has been the deliverer of his fellow-creatures, honoring him more than the monarch who has stormed a city, sacked a town, and murdered myriads. But, ah! the body which was saved from death to-day may die to-morrow. Not so the soul that is saved from death: it is saved everlastingly. It is saved beyond the fear of destruction. And if there be joy in the breast of a benevolent man when he saves a body from death, how much more blessed must he be when he is made the means in the hand of God of saving "a soul from death, and hiding a multitude of sins." A single word spoken may be more the means of conversion than a whole sermon. God often blesses a short, pithy expression from a friend more than a long discourse by a minister. There was once in a village where there had been a revival in religion a man who was a confirmed infidel. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the minister and many Christian people, he had resisted all attempts, and appeared to be more and more confirmed in his sin. At length the people held a prayer-meeting, specially to intercede for his soul. Afterwards God put it into the heart of one of the elders of the church to spend a night in prayer in behalf of the poor infidel. In the morning the elder rose from his knees, saddled his horse, and rode down to the man's smithy. He meant to say a great deal to him, but he simply went up to him, took him by the hand, and all he could say was, "Oh, sir! I am deeply concerned for your salvation. I am deeply concerned for your salvation. I have been wrestling with my God all this night for your salvation." He could say no more, his heart was too full. He then mounted on his horse and rode away again. Down went the blacksmith's hammer, and he went immediately to see his wife. She said, "What is the matter with you?" "Matter enough," said the man. "I

have been attacked with a new argument this time. There is Elder B. has been here this morning; and he said, 'I am concerned about your salvation.' Why, now if he is concerned about my salvation, it is a strange thing that I am not concerned about it." The man's heart was clean captured by that kind word from the elder; he took his own horse and rode to the elder's house. When he arrived there the elder was in his parlor, still in prayer, and they kneeled down together. God gave him a contrite spirit and a broken heart, and brought that poor sinner to the feet of the Saviour. There was "a soul saved from death, and a multitude of sins covered." 2. Again, you may be the means of conversion by a letter you may write. There is your brother. He is careless and hardened. Sister, sit down and write a letter to him; when he receives it, he will perhaps smile, but he will say, "Ah, well! it is Betsy's letter after all!" And that will have some power. I knew a gentleman whose dear sister used often to write to him concerning his soul. "I used," said he, "to stand with my back up against a lamp-post, with a cigar in my mouth, perhaps at two o'clock in the morning, to read her letter: I always read them; and I have," said he, "wept floods of tears after reading my sister's letters. Though I still kept on in the error of ways, they always checked me; they always seemed a hand pulling me away from sin; a voice crying out, 'Come back! Come back!'" And at last a letter from her, in conjunction with a solemn providence, was the means of breaking his heart, and he sought salvation through a Saviour. 3. Again. How many have been converted by the example of true Christians. An infidel will use arguments to disprove the Bible, if you set it before him; but, if you do to others as you would that they should do to you, if you give of your bread to the poor and dispense to the needy, living like Christ, speaking words of kindness and love, and living honestly and uprightly in the world, he will say, "Well, I thought the Bible was all hypocrisy; but I cannot think so now, because there is Mr. So-and-so—see how he lives. I could believe my infidelity if it were not for him. The Bible certainly has an effect upon his life, and, there-

fore, I must believe it." 4. And then, how many souls may be converted by what some men are privileged to write and print. I value books for the good they may do to men's souls. Much as I respect the genius of Pope, or Dryden, or Burns, give me the simple lines of Cowper, that God has owned in bringing souls to him. Oh! to think that we may write and print books which shall reach poor sinners' hearts. 5. But, after all, preaching is the ordained means for the salvation of sinners, and by this ten times as many are brought to the Saviour as by any other. Ah! my friends, to have been the means of saving souls from death by preaching—what an honor! Oh! men and women, how can ye better spend your time and wealth than in the cause of the Redeemer? What hollower enterprise can you engage in than this sacred one of saving souls from death, and hiding a multitude of sins. This is a wealth that ye can take with you—the wealth that has been acquired under God, by having saved souls from death, and covered a multitude of sins.

III. THE APPLICATION

It is this: that he who is the means of conversion of a sinner does, under God, "save a soul from death, and hide a multitude of sins"; but particular attention ought to be paid to backsliders; for in bringing backsliders into the church there is as much honor to God as in bringing in sinners. "Brethren, if any one of you do err from the truth, and one convert him." Alas! the poor backslider is often the most forgotten. A member of the church has disgraced his profession; the church excommunicated him, and he was accounted "a heathen man and a publican." I know of men of good standing in the gospel ministry, who ten years ago fell into sin; and that is thrown in our teeth to this very day. Do you speak of them you are at once informed, "Why, ten years ago they did so-and-so." Christian men ought to be ashamed of themselves for taking notice of such things so long afterward. True, we may use more caution in our dealings; but to reproach a fallen brother for what he did so long ago is contrary to the spirit of John, who went after Peter, three days after he had denied his Master with oaths

and curses. Recollect you would have been a backslider too if it were not for the grace of God. I advise you, whenever you see professors living in sin to be very shy of them; but if after a time you see any sign of repentance, or if you do not, go and seek out the lost sheep of the house of Israel; for remember, that if one of you do err from the truth, and one convert him, let him remember that "he who converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins." "Backsliders, who your misery feel," I will come after you one moment. Poor backslider, thou wast once a Christian. Dost thou hope thou wast? "No," sayest thou, "I believe I deceived myself and others; I was no child of God." Well, if thou didst, let me tell thee, that if thou wilt acknowledge that, God will forgive thee. Come thou, then, to his feet; cast thyself on his mercy; and though thou didst once enter his camp as a spy, he will not hang thee up for it, but will be glad to get thee anyhow as a trophy of mercy. But if thou wast a child of God, and canst say, honestly, "I know I did love him, and he loved me," I tell thee he loves thee still. If thou hast gone ever so far astray, thou art as much his child as ever. Though thou hast run away from thy Father, come back, come back, he is thy Father still.

MOTIVE AND METHOD IN EVANGELISM

It is generally regarded as unfair to impute or infer motives in evangelistic efforts. Judging from emphasis laid upon certain campaigns of evangelism one is inclined to believe that various motives enter into the task.

The word "evangelism" has come down to us from both Greek and Latin terms. The meaning of *evangelium* and *evangelios* is essentially the same. Evangelism means the Gospel or Good News. The Gospel of Christ, which is the good news of the Kingdom, works upon human hearts silently, yet surely. People cannot be made permanently good by law. Love is the Alpha and Omega of the Gospel of

Jesus. The supreme motive in evangelism should be to make people Christian by the Christ-like spirit.

President Angel, of Yale, once said to a gathering of students: "The educated man must recognize the physical basis of the world; the economic forces that mold our civilization must be accepted, yet he must make clear to himself the supreme place in human life occupied by the spiritual forces." The term spiritual has sometimes been abused. Men and women of a pietistic turn of mind, not counting their actions, have appropriated the term "spiritual." Deep emotions, fiery fervor, and good intentions are not conclusive evidence of deep spirituality.

What about the good brother of solemn mien on Sunday indulging in sharp practice on Monday? How would you classify the dear sister of a four-square attitude on the Lord's day, who blackguarded her neighbor, behind her back, on Tuesday? Spirituality, rightly understood, describes a disciple of Jesus who is filled with the finest and fullest qualities of Christian character seven days a week.

From the very beginning of Christianity the personal and mass methods have been used in the propagation of the gospel. The word "revival" has lost much of its keen edge by rough usage. Quack revivalists have hindered rather than helped the Kingdom interests. When the emphasis has been made upon the spectacular, financial, sensational, and vulgar, unfortunate reactions have resulted.

Evangelists have not been wholly to blame. Pastors and church boards have insisted on methods and men that attracted crowds and collections. The professional evangelist, called, trained and equipped, has a place in the church, as a surgeon has in the realm of medicine. A "revival," which is a renewal of life, is just as normal in religious life as the recurrence of spring after the barren winter. Sometimes the new life is accompanied by thunder and lightning or soft and gentle rain.

The church has had great evangelists, like Peter, Paul, Wesley, Whitefield and Moody. The example of Jesus, when he called the first disciples, renders personal work of great value. It is said: "Of

the forty mentioned in the Gospels whom Jesus healed, only six came of their own initiative." The remaining thirty-four were brought by friends to Jesus.

The personal plan in evangelism has excellent advantages over the mass method. In the first place, hand-picked fruit is always preferred and is of high value. The personal approach enriches the worker. He learns by service how to adapt himself to different types of people. He learns to be like Jesus, simple, sympathetic, friendly and natural. To win souls one must be convincing as well as tactful. In a suburban church a campaign of personal evangelism was in progress. The volunteer workers had met together for preparation. Not all had learned the art of adaptation to means and men.

The leader of one team immediately upon entering the home of a constituent blurted out: "We want you to join the church." The family was shocked to say the least. "Join the church." That sounded like tacking together two pieces of wood, or joining a lodge or social club. The team-mate possessed a grain of saving grace and suggested they pray. After a season of prayer, the team left, and when the workers met at the church later that night this particular team had to report "Prospects not bright." The next night a different team visited the home, and after a friendly greeting began to talk about the campaign and what the grace of God had done and could do for those who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ. Questions of a religious nature were asked and answered when possible. No mention was made of "joining" the church. That was left entirely in the background. Before the team left that night four decisions for Christ were made, and as a matter of course, they later came into fellowship with the church, because they loved the Head of the church.

Successful personal workers do not argue silly questions, nor condemn cranks. They quote suitable passages of Scripture and endeavor to persuade the constituent to accept the gospel of Christ. A person is never hopeless. The door of approach should always remain open. Effective workers know the value of never taking "no" for an answer.

In the town of K—a campaign of evangelism was being directed by a visiting brother. At the close of the first night's service a member of the church said he could never approach so and so again on the question of decision. By the question and answer method the fact was elicited that he had driven the man to a negative answer. However, he had grit and gumption and grace, and decided he would open up the subject again. He did the next day. To his amazement the prospect was ready to quit his meanness and follow the Lord.

It is said of the late Bishop McCabe that when he stepped out of a cab in a city one night, as he paid the cabby, he said:

"Meet me in heaven." The words stuck in the cabman's heart. At midnight he went to the hotel and roused the bishop from his sleep, in his earnestness and sincerity to find salvation.

It is wonderful to be a soul-winner for Jesus. To disciple is the big business of believers. Andrew found his own brother Simon and brought him to Jesus. The woman at the well said to her neighbors: "Come, see a man . . . Is not this the Christ?" If all who love the Lord won just one each this year, the entire population of the United States would soon be won for Christ.

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THE ARENA

THE OLD CHURCH IN THE NEW DAY

THE "impatient parson" will stir up a good many folks as he has stirred me. I think I am partly awake to the same new day he sees. Perhaps I have been slower in waking up than some, and again perhaps I have been too unwilling to admit that things have changed.

When I read such things as this in the newspaper, I must confess that the world is not standing still. "Fifty years ago a pioneer settler made his way behind an ox-team to a spot in the State of Utah, where the town of Logan was to grow. Tired by his long, hard journey, the settler unyoked his oxen, shouldered his axe, and soon had built himself a little cabin in which to begin life anew. To him there came the joys and responsibilities of parenthood, and a place of honor in the developing community. The other day his son dropped in to help him celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the end of that pioneer journey. His son, too, is a pioneer. A few days previously he had hopped off from the flying field on the eastern border of the United States just as the sun climbed over the Atlantic's rim and had glided down into a hangar at San Francisco as the same sun was dropping

from sight below the Pacific's margin. Fifty years from ox team to the crossing of the continent in a day."

Walt Whitman wrote some poetry that stirs me along with much that does not move me one whit. One thing he penned rises before me now.

"What whispers are these? O lands running ahead of you, passing under the seas.

Are all nations communing? Is there going to be but one heart to the globe?"

That's just it. All nations are communing. There is a tendency to less of secrecy and more frank, open consideration of such questions as concern mankind. We are thinking more in common. It looks more like a single heart-throb.

We are accustomed to hear speakers who habitually "point with pride." This pride is, however, usually a community pride, or a State pride, a party pride, or a national pride. Sometimes it is a family pride, and often it comes down to a purely personal pride. Rises one now to speak of "cosmic pride." He is not a person of careless speech. He is not unaccustomed to weighing evidence. He is not given to extravagant statements. He is none other than John Wigmore, Dean of the Faculty

of Law in Northwestern University. The phrase appears in an article in a recent number of *The International Journal of Ethics*. He says, "I challenge any one to read faithfully the Official Journal (of the League of Nations) of any year's proceedings without experiencing a *thrill of cosmic pride* in the perception that the world's politics are for the first time being discussed and settled in a free, central and universal forum."

Certain it is that the world is functioning in a different way from "the good old days"; and it must be a bigger thing to sense "cosmic pride" than to be moved by personal pride.

Changes like this usually make one feel that he has been rudely awakened from a cosy nap, and one jumps up a bit shaky and panicky, just as he does when suddenly startled from a snooze. One shakes himself, throws a little more intensity into his living, and is inclined to think that perhaps this new thing that has roused him is an enemy of the old.

Mr. Frank Cobb quotes Thomas Jefferson as saying this about the matter of free speech, "The spirit of resistance to the government is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it always to be kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong, but better so than not to be exercised at all." He then adds this comment, "If he were to utter such a statement to-day, the Post Office would exclude his matter from the mails, Grand Juries would indict him for criminal syndicalism, legislative committees would search his private papers for evidence of Bolshevism, and Senators would clamor for his deportation." Now that is the spirit of the new day in which we are living. Things are being questioned, things are being restated. New modes and methods of life are advocated, and some are crying for a restatement of faith. What ought the church to do?

There seems to be a storm on the ecclesiastical sea. There are certainly hazards and dangers enough to make any pilot tremble, but that is no good reason why the voyage must not be made. The church must simply take her bearings and find out whether she has an anchor that holds or whether she is drifting near to the rocks that the next minute will sink her.

We had pilots in the old days and they were good ones. They had studied the seas and they knew the winds and the waves and they steered a straight course. One has but to name Joseph Parker, Hugh Price Hughes, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, Phillips Brooks, Bishop Simpson and Dwight L. Moody. We must not belittle the pilots of the old day as if they were no-bodies and all genius and ability has been reserved for this new day. We only make our littleness more conspicuous by a too severe criticism of those pilots. But on the other hand there are just as good men at the helm to-day as there ever were. The type of boat has changed and the requirements to handle it are different from those demanded when the square-rigger was on the seas. We have to have confidence in our pilots to-day if we would see the church ship brought into the harbor in safety. These men at the helm may be younger men, their language may be different, the method of maneuvering the church may be quite changed, but they are competent.

It would seem that if the old church is to come through in this new day she must place a benediction on active virtues as well as on passive ones. Doing things in the spirit of Christ must be blessed as well as meditating upon his virtues, or even praying to him in the dim light of the sanctuary. The spirit of the times seems to insist that manhood means more than mannerisms, and that the field of the Christian activity is here and not hereafter. Much of that which has seemed of great importance to the church is but so much "Tweedledee and Tweedledum" to men and women both inside and outside of the church to-day. For the church as a leader there is more demand than ever; for the church as a follower, there is no vacancy.

The world cares nothing about our controversies, divisions, sub-divisions. Those questions which caused the fathers to get white hot do not even raise the temperature of their children. They wonder what the discussion ever meant, and why it was ever necessary to have it. I wonder how many can tell the real differences between the denominations?

The old church in this new day must

relate herself to the modern mind. The thought grooves are different; therefore, some thought forms must be broken and new expressions given. There is as great a heart-hunger now as there was fifty years ago. To meet it we must speak the language of this day and not of yesterday. We need to remember that Paul advised against the use of strange tongues in the service of the church. One sentence in the vernacular of the people is worth a million words in a foreign tongue.

I hear somebody saying as they read this, "Just what is the main business of the church to-day, the times having changed?" I answer that the main business hasn't changed. In the great days of the church she lived by propaganda. We need a revival of teaching evangelism. We need the energy of the agitator. We just must have church members who have something to tell who will be willing to tell it and better still to live it. Bernard Shaw said, "We might as well make an experiment of the teaching of Jesus as any other." Do you believe that? Would you be willing to start out and talk about it?

The world is in the remaking. Thought and emotions are plastic, old idols have been thrown down. This may be the day of a new Pentecost for the church if she will turn her attention to the preaching of a salvation from wrong doing and wrong living here and now.

There are a great many pessimists who are weeping and wailing and gnashing their teeth over the decadence of the church. There is no room in the world to-day for prophets of ill-tidings. The religion of this new day is still the religion of Jesus Christ. Just how the church will express it, it is hard to say, but there is as yet no reason for trembling. When his teachings have been put to the severest tests they have won the greatest triumphs. It may be that the church will have to drop some of its impedimenta and get down to the living things, to the living truths that are common to all faith, since men are demanding the real rather than the conventional.

If the church has any actual experience of the spiritual life let her begin with that. Christianity used to be expressed or interpreted in terms of dogma; it must now

be in terms of duty. After all there is but one test of a Christian or a church. It is best expressed by Whittier,

"O Lord and Master of us all,
Whate'er our name or sign,
We own thy sway, we hear thy call,
We test our lives by thine."

Our faith in Him we must now prove by our works. That we have called him "Lord, Lord," is nothing. He is asking and the world is asking that we bring forward the naked we may have clothed, the hungry we may have fed, the sick we may have provided for. He is not interested in church records as a place for recording names, nor is the world to-day. Neither is he submitting a theological questionnaire to determine our standing. His test is simplicity itself. (Read Matthew 25.31-46.)

"Whoso hath felt the spirit of the highest
Cannot confound, nor doubt him nor deny;
Yea with one voice; O world though thou deniest
Stand thou on that side, for on this am I."

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA

IN closing his monumental work, the *Philosophy of History*, Hegel said: "The history of the world is nothing but the development of the idea of freedom." This is true whether the history of the world is written in terms of philosophy, psychology, sociology or biography. Democracy—brotherhood—is the goal of the human race, if one may forecast the future by the racial development of the past.

Ernest Haeckel, in one of his later books, said: "The greatest philosopher of the future will be the man who can take the facts of ontogeny and explain them phylogenetically." The theory of "recapitulation," referred to by Haeckel, is that the embryo is a microcosm of the genus-macrocosm. Whether this theory be true or not, it is true that human society comes

to self-consciousness by much the same process as the individual human being. The human infant is not immediately self-conscious. He does not know that he is different from or other than his environment. By a process of experience the human infant arrives at consciousness of selfhood.

The annals of early peoples reveal almost no consciousness even of consanguinal relationships. In the early records of our Aryan forefathers there seems to be no recognition of any vital relationship between parent and child. There was no relationship, strange to say, so far as the mother was concerned. She was merely the passive instrument in giving the child birth. Later there came the consciousness of relation—the concept of ownership. The father had the power of life and death over his offspring. Still later, under the matriarchal period, maternal instinct prevailed and there was developed a consciousness of relation between mother and child. Then came the development of conjugal relations and a semblance of family relationship. The family (probably monogamous) was the first socially conscious unit of society. For purposes of protection and defense, families related by blood became united into clans with a clan-consciousness. Tribes and clans became federated into nations and there developed a national consciousness.

The next logical development of social self-consciousness should be racial self-consciousness. Racial solidarity is the goal toward which the human race has been unconsciously moving throughout the ages. Society may consciously advance toward this goal much more rapidly than was possible in the blindly groping past. Humanity is not drifting on an uncharted sea toward an unknown goal, but is now consciously directing its progress toward universal brotherhood.

Professor Franklin H. Giddings has said: "Through successive world-empires of Persia, Macedonia and Rome prepared the way for the Christian conception of universal brotherhood. So long as this conception was nothing more than an esoteric affirmation that all men are brothers, because they are children of one

father, it made but little impression on the social mind; but when by the genius of Saint Paul it was converted into an ideal, into the doctrine that all men through a spiritual renewing may become brothers, the new faith underwent a transformation like that which converted the ethnic into the civic conception of the state, and Christianity became the most tremendous power in history. Gradually it has been realizing its ideal, until to-day a Christian philanthropy and a Christian missionary enterprise, rapidly outgrowing the esoteric sentimentalism of their youth, and devoting themselves to the diffusion of knowledge, to the improvement of conditions and to the upbuilding of character, are uniting the classes and races of men in a spiritual humanity."

In recording the development of the idea of freedom there must be noted the growth of class-consciousness. This is seen in the trade and social castes of India and in the priestly and professional classes in all lands. The best example of class-consciousness in our day is found in the trade-union movement throughout the world. This has resulted in the ascendancy of the proletariat. The coming to self-consciousness by the proletariat has meant a tremendous forward stride toward democracy. There was a time when this class had no status whatever as human beings. Slaves in Rome were of less account than cattle. The proletariat first had to become conscious of their common humanity. Now in some countries, notably Russia, the proletariat has completely ostracized the class that formerly gave them no status in the scheme of social organization. Nothing can withstand the power of the proletariat when it becomes fully self-conscious.

Class consciousness is associated with the ruling classes. No group except a class-conscious group could rule, for no other group would be conscious of authority. Doubtless the earliest form of government was the patriarchal or the matriarchal, where the father or mother had supreme authority over the *patria* or the *familia*. The leading patriarch was made chieftain of the clan or tribe and had full authority. This authority was at first absolute but later relative as the clan or tribe became more fully self-conscious.

In the beginning of nations the associated chiefs became the ruling aristocracy and from them developed kings and later the reign of the nobles. The "nobles" ruled because they were a socially conscious group. They developed into a landed aristocracy and brought about the rise of feudalism.

The next ruling class after the downfall of feudalism was the Third Estate, or the bourgeoisie. When this class, called the social mesoderm, became self-conscious they also became conscious of power. They desired to exercise this power as authority, so they usurped the thrones of kings and the seats of the nobles and became rulers in their stead. This is the class that rules most of the earth to-day, although there are remnants of kingship and feudalism that still persist. Until quite recently this bourgeoisie ruling class has recognized scant rights on the part of the great masses of humanity constituting the Fourth Estate, the proletariat, although they have recognized the rights of the former ruling classes.

Now the proletariat is coming to self-consciousness. With the dawning of the new day of brotherhood has come the greatest discontent and unrest that the world has ever known. Every effort has been made by the dominant ruling class in every nation on earth to prevent this growing social consciousness on the part of the proletariat.

When this class sought redress for civil wrongs they too often found suborned courts and received scant justice. They found that the laws made by the ruling class above them were made more to preserve the sacredness of property rather than the sacredness of humanity. This was a relic of feudalism, where the serf himself was property, as was the slave before him. The proletariat found in lands supposedly democratic that congresses and legislatures were instruments in the hands of a new ruling class—the plutocrats—who were the most powerful class because they held the wealth of the country in their hands. They found that men elected, supposedly, by the people were in reality the tools of the plutocratic interests.

The diffusion of knowledge through the

spread of popular education has had no small part in the conscious awakening of the proletariat. They have learned that the aristocracy of wealth and culture are not the sole depositories of genius. They have discovered the essential unity of humanity and the potential equality of all men. Professor Lester F. Ward has essentially proved his doctrine of "egalitarianism," the potential intellectual equality of all social classes and races. Genius is quite as likely to develop from the hovel as from the palace or mansion.

With the dawning consciousness of common humanity and of solidarity, especially of the working class, has come the desire to rule. For centuries unnumbered the masses have been treated by the classes as quite unfit to rule, even themselves. They must have laws made for them, not by them. They are not now considered capable of self-government by their masters, the plutocrats. The day will likely come when the self-conscious proletariat in other lands will emulate the example of the Russian proletariat and wrest the reins of government from the hands of plutocracy, just as in the past the bourgeoisie took the places of kings and nobles. The world is at the dawn of a new day when mankind will be no more divided into rulers and ruled, masters and servants; it is the dawn of democracy, of brotherhood.

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A MODERN CONCEPTION OF AN ABSOLUTE SOURCE OF EVIL

JAMES MARK BALDWIN states that the devil can at best be only "almost" an absolute actuality because in our present conception there is only one absolute and that is God. The existence of an absolute good denies the existence of an absolute bad. The question at once presents itself: "If this so-called good is absolute why is the existence of evil permitted at all?" But we can see at once that this conception of evil is a hold-over from theology. There is another theory which seems perfectly reasonable and which involves neither the assumption of an absolute good or an absolute evil.

An act is bad because the cumulative experience of the race has proven it to be against the group, and possibly against the individual's interest. The fact that morality has evolved is accepted by many people who in theory profess to believe that a personal, omniscient, benevolent, just and transcendent God sets the standards of absolute right and wrong. When it is suggested that acts are bad only when experience has shown us contingent possibilities better in their consequences than the previous method of responding to the same situation, and that this slow and tedious process is the one by which our intricate system of moral values is founded we at once remove the question of any absolute source of evil warring against God.

Those who believe in an absolute standard of right and wrong have a come-back, however. They say, "It is quite true that our moral code has evolved from the experience of the race, but it is also a process of realization of eternal values and principles."

"It is true that man is making progress from crude savagery but he is also making progress toward an ideal state of existence which remains to be realized." Such an assumption is a most agreeable fancy to indulge but is it quite tenable?

Is there any sound basis for supposing that there *must* be some ideal toward which we are moving other than the ideal which is the result of our own mental projection?

It seems more reasonable to suppose that the mentality of man has developed until it is possible for the mind to formulate new combinations of elements already familiar and that these projected combinations make up our ideals. The number of these possible combinations is infinite but such infinity implies that there will never be an absolute goal but a series of wider and more comprehensive goals as the experience of man is increased and as he is able to profit by the past experience of humanity.

This resolves itself into the old problem of "The Relative Versus the Absolute," with the relative having the better of the argument. But we have not solved the problem. Is not murder wrong, abso-

lutely wrong, always? Is not the very revulsion of feeling which comes at the sight or sound of the word pretty good evidence that it is directly opposed to some higher law? There seems to be no crime so universally condemned as murder. Does anyone have the courage to suggest that murder is ever right? First of all let us remove it from its legal connotation and say that it is simply taking the life of another individual in contravention, not of any written law of society, but of his right to live and of the right of society to the knowledge of security.

Are there never any "extenuating circumstances" which justify one man in taking the life of another? Why is it very difficult to find an American jury which will convict a woman for murdering the man who has robbed her of her virtue? Why is it almost as difficult to convict a husband for the killing of the man who has desecrated his home and stolen the honor of his wife? These situations are suggested not in an endeavor to show that it is right to take the life of another but simply to suggest that there is even yet some lack of unanimity of opinion as to whether it is "always" wrong or not.

Still more marked is the phenomenon of war. Individual murder may be wrong but group slaughter is encouraged. Is this because we have as yet failed to "realize" the eternal values of love and co-operation or because we have failed to develop far enough to understand the possibility of the formulation of the principles of love and co-operation on a world-wide basis?

If there is this lack of certainty about the most revolting crime of all how much more might be said in regard to the lesser offenses which are ordinarily considered to be against the welfare of society?

It will be at once objected that such a theory would result in the throwing overboard of all the wholesome restrictions which society has evolved in the countless preceding generations? It could even be said with a considerable degree of truth that this is precisely what is happening at the present time. We are losing the belief in divine ordinance and it is resulting in marked disregard of the laws of society which have been built up for its self-de-

fense but which apparently needed a touch of divine sanction to make them effective. Theologians cry out, "Once the idea of a personal God is lost, all moral laws will disappear." If that is true it certainly is an indictment against theology. If theology has made the developed principles of social well-being appear to be divine commands, and if the belief in the divine origin of the so-called command is lost, and if the mass of people who have hitherto been held in line by the supposed fact of supernatural punishment or reward now lose that faith, and if having lost that faith, they partially "revert to type," it is strong evidence

that theology has made a mistake for which society will have to suffer. If moral laws are disregarded it is precisely because the element of the supernaturalness of their origin has been played up while that of social solidarity has been neglected.

Offenses against society may not be absolutely wrong with reference to any absolute standard of values but that does not mean that they are not absolutely bad with reference to the cumulative experience of the race and to the present ideal of what is for the best interests of society.

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BIBLICAL RESEARCH

WHAT THE OLD TESTAMENT GAVE TO THE NEW

[This is a chapter from *Christianity Today*, used by the courteous permission of the Cokesbury Press and the author. This book was written by professors of the Garrett Biblical Institute.]

THE significance of the Old Testament is not to be judged by what it inherited, but rather by what it contributed to the race. Too frequently biblical discussions have been concerned with the incidental to the exclusion of the principal contributions of religious development. There are numerous evidences of the survival of ancient Semitic beliefs and practices, such as primitive ideas of deity, old forms of worship, bits of legend and folklore; but the Old Testament cannot be judged by the presence of these survivals. The Old Testament represents centuries of growth and change, and its permanent values must be gathered from the main trends of its religious development.

The study of the Old Testament reveals some remarkable examples of its capacity for growth and development. Marvel of all marvels is that it contains so much of the dynamic and so little comparatively of the static element. It is not a product of systems of thought but rather an outgrowth of religious experience in close contact with everyday life. The ability of

its leaders is seen in their sensible views of the past and a recognition of the great needs of the present. There are numerous examples even of different opinions held by men of the same period, such as in the case of Isaiah and Micah.

What are some of the permanent values of the Old Testament? What are some of the main trends of the religious development, especially those particular elements that are passed on to the New Testament? The answer to these questions will be summarized in a selection of a few of the more important features.

We begin with the central thought of religion, the concept of God. From the standpoint of religious development the Old Testament might well be called a series of attempts to find God. And how frequently we have endeavored to reconcile the earlier attempts with the later ones! There are numerous examples of anthropomorphic and nationalistic concepts, but these are in no wise comparable with the more universal and moral conceptions of the prophets and the writers of the post-exilic period. The significant fact is that Israel outgrew so many of these earlier concepts.

Several important elements in the Old Testament conception of God are carried over into later religious development. The first of these is a profound belief in the reality and existence of God and the sense

of his intimate relationship with human life. It is almost an axiom of Semitic thinking never to question the existence of God. God's relations with the world and man are vividly conceived in the most intimate and personal terms. God is the prime mover in all cosmic and human affairs.

Another line of evidence that indicates the capacity for growth in the Old Testament is the increasing moralization of the character of God. It receives its greatest development at the hands of the prophets. God possesses the qualities of justice, holiness, righteousness, and loving-kindness. God punishes according to moral standards, and his judgment falls alike on his own chosen folks and on other nations. The great day of the Lord becomes a day in which the character of God is to be vindicated; sin is to be punished, whether found at home or abroad.

Another contribution of the Old Testament conception of God is seen in the ever-widening area of God's control. The beginning is the ancient Semitic conception of divinities located in mountains, trees, sacred stones, and water courses. There are a few of these survivals in the Old Testament. But, beginning with a God of Sinai, we see next a God of a confederation of tribes, then a God of Palestine, and finally a God of the hosts of the heavens, the whole world order, and all the nations of mankind.

The ethical developments of the Old Testament form the essential foundations of the New. At times it is decidedly tribal and nationalistic in scope and outlook, as seen, for example, in the law codes of Deuteronomy. At other times its ethics have a certain utilitarian or even selfish value, as seen in the morals of the wise men, the Book of Proverbs being a good illustration. Wisdom in these sections is a kind of individual shrewdness that finds what is to one's advantage and avoids what is harmful. But this is not the whole story. The lofty social ethics we will consider later. Here should be noted the significance of the close relation between morals and religion. The ethical principles of the Old Testament are justified by religious experience and enforced by religious sanctions. It is this close relation-

ship between ethics and religion that enabled the founders of the law codes to introduce a note of freedom. It is this element of freedom that made it possible for the Jew to live under the law yet at the same time to develop some of the finest expressions of individual religious life. This accounts for the production of such writings as Job, Jonah, Ruth, and many of the late Psalms, while the people were under the domination of the law. The late apocalyptic book, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, one of the highest expressions of ethical development in Judaism, was produced under the same circumstances. The value of this for the New Testament is readily seen when it is noted that the motivation of Jesus' moral principles is found in his concept of God and of the coming rule of God on earth.

Another notable contribution lies in the insistence on the supremacy of the spiritual over the external in man's relation to God. The beginning of this movement is found with the prophets. It is not true to say that the prophets are opposed to all forms and institutions of religion. They accept the institutions of their day—sacrifice, ritual, and the other prescriptions of the law. They are opposed to their misuse and to the substitution of the externals for a more personal and ethical relationship to God and one's fellow men. The institution of sacrifice, for example, is bitterly attacked when it means the subordination or neglect of the higher values of social justice and loyalty to God. The value of this heritage for the New Testament is self-evident, and at the same time it furnishes the key for a more intelligent understanding of Jesus' relations to the institutions of his day. Jesus is loyal to the temple, the law, and the Sabbath, but he is opposed to a use in which they fail to serve mankind. The law is to be fulfilled, but not to the exclusion of the weightier matters. It is not the abolition of the institution, but the recognition of a new sense of proportion and a higher standard of values.

Interesting is the Old Testament teaching as to the worth of the individual. It was a doctrine that came through long years of growth and struggle. For many centuries the rights of the individual were

wholly merged in the welfare of the group. A single man, or even a small group, could suffer, but as long as the solidarity and integrity of the nation were not impaired, the problem of suffering was not felt. As long as this group idea was paramount, Isaiah's doctrines of the inviolability of Jerusalem and the remnant were direct corollaries. The prophets' program of moralization was the force that leavened the lump and brought the individual more and more to the front. In the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel we have the first clear-cut lines of individualism. Man is alone responsible for his sins. The nation may fail, Jerusalem may be destroyed, but their destruction does not involve the loss of God. Now for the first time individual suffering becomes a problem apart from the continued existence of the nation. The lofty heights of individualistic piety are made possible. Thus in the late postexilic period, the problem of suffering becomes a real problem as seen in some of the psalms and in the Book of Job. The individual can now stand alone, with a value in his own right. One of the highest outreaches of this, from a moral angle, is seen in the thirty-first chapter of Job. The value of this idea of individualism for a later period is seen in the fine examples of the prayer life and the devotional spirit of the intertestamental period and the New Testament.

The social aspect of Old Testament ethics is of supreme value. The note of democracy is one of the basic principles of the Old Testament. The ancient Nazirite is the first of a line of protestants against signs of social disintegration. He voiced his protest in the total abstinence from wine. The Rechabites are another group protesting by a refusal to cultivate the soil or to live in houses. They saw no correction for the social wrongs of their day except by a return to the freedom and democracy of the desert. The most notable expression of this democratic spirit appears with the Hebrew prophets, ever close to the heart of the people. They courageously become the champions of the rights of the poor and the oppressed. They never waver in their denunciations of the privileged classes that fail to respect the rights of the common man. At the risk of their

own personal safety they do not hesitate to oppose intrenched wrong. Hence their fierce denunciation of all acts of oppression and violence, their condemnation of land monopoly and of unjust discrimination against the poor landowner. They look forward to a time when all men will treat one another with loving-kindness and justice, and when the least and the poorest shall be insured their individual rights, especially in ownership of the land.

This same note of social concern for the common man is seen in the religious festivals and sacred seasons of Israel. One of the underlying elements in the institution of the Sabbath is the note of social welfare and humanitarian interest, surcease from labor for the benefit of the hard-working peasant. The social and humanitarian aspects of the Book of Deuteronomy carry on much of the same spirit of the prophets, wherein a merciful and a more considerate treatment of slaves, captive women, children, and dependent classes in general is enjoined. Many of its laws are safeguards for the cause of the poor against a possible repetition of the oppression of the privileged classes. The principles that underlie the social teachings of the Old Testament reappear in the New and are a permanent heritage of Christianity.

The rise of a world outlook is the result of a long contest with the old tribal or nationalistic view of the world. Its victory is by no means complete; it never plays more than a minor role. The bulk of the Old Testament writers are particularistic in their attitude toward the outside world, believing in the destruction of all hostile Gentile groups and in some cases in the total annihilation of the Gentile world. Here again it is the prophets whose ethical emphasis furnishes the basis for the appearance of the universalistic tendency. The old tribal view dies hard just because it is so firmly intrenched in Semitic thinking. But the significant thing about the Old Testament at this point is not the persistency of the particularistic view, but rather that some one dared to build over against this view the beginnings of a larger and truer conception of the world order.

The first expressions of this larger view

of other nations are imperfect. In the prophetic days Israel is punished as a nation in a collective way. This collective punishment gives way gradually to a more personal and moral idea of punishment. But long after the prophets apply this more moral theory within the nation of Israel, the outside nations are still visited collectively with penalty. In many cases their sins are not specified. They are punished just because they are foreign nations, or because they oppose the onward march of the chosen race. This collective treatment of foreign nations shows some signs of breaking down in late Old Testament sections and again in the late literature of Judaism.

The first evidence in the Old Testament of a consideration of the future welfare of the Gentiles appears in Jeremiah. It appears again in Isaiah 40-55, wherein the salvation of the Gentiles is indicated. These expressions of the larger outlook are re-enforced in the Book of Ruth and the Book of Jonah. Outside of the Old Testament canon the apocalyptic Book of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs carries on this universalistic trend.

We turn in closing to the Old Testament teaching on the kingdom of God. The prophets are primarily preachers of righteousness for their own day and generation. They possess a fine philosophy

of history, wherein God is closely associated with past and future events. They never lose sight of the golden age to come, the kingdom of God, or, exactly stated, the rule of God. Much has been said about the limitations of the Old Testament conception of the kingdom of God. Too much emphasis has been placed on its nationalistic features with Israel at the center, its materialistic aspects, its restored fertility of the land, its return of private ownership, and its promise of enduring prosperity.

Although a semi-moral conception at first, the Old Testament idea of the kingdom of God becomes one of the most potent conceptions in the background of the New Testament. There are several phases of this thought that are carried over into the New Testament. The first is the conception of the kingdom as a theocracy. God is the sole ruler, and even if a Messiah figure appears, he is a subordinate figure to God. Another phase is the spiritual transformation of the world and the regeneration of mankind. The figure of the Messiah is still another important feature. All of these factors played a very important part in the development of New Testament thought.

LESLIE ELMER FULLER.

Evanston, Ill.

OUR BOOKSHELF

The Old Testament. An American Translation by ALEXANDER R. GORDON, THEOPHILE J. MEER, J. M. POWIS SMITH, LEROY WATERMAN, edited by J. M. POWIS SMITH. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois. Cloth bound, \$7.50. Leather bound, \$10.

THE Authorized or King James Version of the Bible was published in 1611 A. D. For a generation or two it had a formidable rival in the Geneva Bible, prepared about half a century earlier; but in the end its sterling worth secured for it a position of supremacy which it maintained for

more than two centuries. During the earlier part of the nineteenth century the discovery of hitherto unknown Hebrew and Greek manuscripts, a better understanding of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and changes in the English language itself created a demand for a revision of the Authorized Version or an entirely new translation from the original in the light of the wider knowledge. Several partial translations were made and finally, in 1870, steps were taken in England looking toward an official revision. The result was the so-called "English" Revised Version, completed and published in

1885. In its production the best biblical scholars in the entire English-speaking world co-operated. This was followed in 1901 by the American Standard Version.

During the past quarter of a century much time and thought have been devoted to Bible study; and though the general excellence of the American Revision was recognized, it was felt that perfection had been by no means reached; hence various attempts were made to furnish more accurate translations of the Bible in whole or in part. So far as the Old Testament is concerned, a number of partial translations were made, and a few translations of the entire collection were published, the best known being the translation by James Moffatt, which came from the press in 1924-1925.

We are now indebted for another translation of the Old Testament to four well-known Old Testament scholars, Professor Alexander R. Gordon, of the United Theological College and McGill University, Montreal; Professor Theophile J. Meek, of the University of Toronto; Professor Leroy Waterman, of the University of Michigan; and Professor J. M. Powis Smith, of the University of Chicago, who served as the General Editor. The product of their efforts, called "The Old Testament—An American Translation," was published in September, 1927, by the University of Chicago Press. In the presence of so many other translations, can the publication of another translation of the Old Testament be justified? An answer to this inquiry may be found in the following considerations:

(1) The form in which the English Bible has circulated, with its mechanical chapter and verse divisions and its failure to distinguish literary forms, has undoubtedly discouraged many readers. The translators and publishers of the American Translation have sought to give it the appearance of a modern book. The general make-up of the page is changed, verse numbers are relegated to the margin, so as not to interfere with the arrangement of the material in paragraphs and longer sections, in harmony with the general development of the thought; to facilitate the reading paragraph headings and other literary devices are furnished.

(2) Advance in the knowledge of Hebrew has shown many passages to be inaccurately translated, and at the same time has made it possible to reproduce with greater fidelity the meaning of the biblical writers. For instance, the American Revised Version translates the opening verses of Genesis: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. And the earth was waste and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep: the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." This is reproduced in the American Translation: "When God began to create the heavens and the earth, the earth being a desolate waste, with darkness covering the abyss and the spirit of God hovering over the waters, (then God said)."

(3) Much progress has been made in recent years in the field of textual criticism; that is, in the effort to restore the Old Testament text to its original purity. There is, of course, still much uncertainty about the original reading of many passages, but enough advance has been made to justify a new translation which should embody the results of this textual study. The guiding principle of the translators has been to adhere to the traditional Hebrew text "as long as it made satisfactory sense." In obscure and doubtful cases they have accepted the testimony of the ancient versions; conjectural emendations have been but rarely adopted. The extent of the textual alterations adopted by the translators is revealed in the fact that about ninety pages of textual notes are given in an appendix, calling attention to the differences between the Hebrew text and the emended text from which the translation was made.

(4) The discovery of a mass of formerly unsuspected poetry in the Old Testament and the better appreciation of the essential characteristics of Hebrew poetry have profoundly influenced the translators. The Authorized Version gave but little indication of the presence of poetry in the Old Testament; the Revised Version marks considerable advance, for many portions, especially the so-called poetic books, are printed as poetry. Still more recently it has come to be seen that a much larger proportion of the text, especially in the

prophetic books, is in poetic form. All such passages are printed as poetry in the American Translation. The opening verses of Isaiah (1, 2, 3) are arranged as follows:

Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth,
For the Lord has spoken:
"Sons have I reared and brought up,
And they have rebelled against me!
The ox knows its owner,
And the ass its master's crib;
But Israel does not know,
My people shows no understanding."

(5) The English of the twentieth century is not the English of the seventeenth century; and even the Revised Version was hardly written in the language of the average man of the present. Undoubtedly, in a real sense every new translation loses in impressiveness by departure from the simple, dignified English of the Authorized Version. On the other hand, the use of modern, easily intelligible terms, without descending to the level of the street, enhances the usefulness of the book to the ordinary reader.

The American Translation should prove a valuable aid to the earnest student of the Bible. It is hardly to be expected that the mass of textual emendations will commend themselves to all; or that there will be universal agreement in the rendering of certain words or the reproduction of whole sentences or paragraphs. Those who find delight in the symmetrical literary beauty of the Authorized Version may be inclined to look upon many changes in translation as sacrilege and may continue to prefer for devotional use the translation which has held sway for so many generations. Nevertheless, when the strangeness has worn off, the reader will discover that the translators have been unusually successful in carrying out their objectives, and that they have given to the modern Bible student a splendid tool for the better understanding and appreciation of the Old Testament writers.

FREDERICK CARL EISELEN.

Evanston, Ill.

Present-Day Dilemmas in Religion. By CHARLES W. GILKEY, D.D. Pp. 180. Nashville: The Cokesbury Press. \$1.50.

WHEN Doctor Woelfkin learned that Professor Gilkey was to succeed him in delivering the Cole Lectures for 1927, he remarked: "You will like Charlie." Dean Brown, of Vanderbilt University, where these lectures were delivered last May, added the editorial comment: "His predication was amply justified." It is just that informal, "unacademic," personal tone that makes these lectures so tremendously popular.

That does not imply that Professor Gilkey has made no other contribution than a pleasing manner. Quite the contrary. He has combined the charm of a story-teller with the critical insight of a philosopher trained at the feet of James and Royce, and added the polish that comes only from extensive travel in the far corners of the world where one's contacts are broadened and one's prejudices modified: and the result is this enchanting group of lectures.

Doctor Gilkey was trained in Harvard, where he won a Phi Beta Kappa key and two degrees in four years, majoring in Philosophy under Professors James and Royce. He did his theological work at Union, where he received his degree *summa cum laude*, and a two-year fellowship that was spent abroad in Berlin, Marburg, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Oxford, and finished off with an extensive camping tour in Palestine. He then permitted his scholarship to mellow through extensive contact with students and teachers as University Preacher in twenty-nine leading American colleges and universities, and in a trip to India, where he delivered the Barrow Lectures in 1925. Consequently he speaks to students with sympathy, interest, and a breadth of vision, as well as with a seasoned scholarship.

Discussing the Dilemmas of Present-Day Religion, he finds that the underlying difficulty lies in an attempt to classify our attitude toward life by the alternatives: *either—or*, when we should have realized that they almost always create false dilemmas; while the true attitude toward life and things should be a recognition of the fact that it is not a question of *either—or*, but a matter of *both—and*. This principle he applies in turn to history and

customs; to the social attitude of "practical service" as over against the religious attitude of "inner renewal"; to the distinction between the use of definitions and the use of symbols; to the relationships between the individual and the group; and to the idea that Christians are "in the world but not of it." In all of these dilemmas he finds that it is not so much a question of accepting one or the other as of growing great enough to include them both.

These lectures have one weakness. Almost one-seventh of the book is given over to extensive quotations, all excellent in themselves and revealing an intimate acquaintance with and judicious use of the best scholarship of the times, but for the most part unnecessary here. Doctor Gilkey himself has so much to offer that is fresh and original that his extensive use of quotations does not add materially to the value of the book, or increase the interest of the reader in it.

Doctor Gilkey enters into the heart of the problem, states his case in unmistakable terms, and then proceeds to discuss the solution so clearly and so positively that no one can fail to understand him; and in such clear, vivid, and persuasive terms that those who listened to his lectures, and those who will read his book, cannot fail to be inspired by them.

JOSEPH M. BLESSING.

High Bridge, N. J.

The Science of Religion. By LEWIS GUY ROHRBAUGH. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1927. xii + 291 pp. \$3.

IN *The Science of Religion*, Professor Lewis Guy Rohrbach, of the Department of Philosophy and Religious Education of Dickinson College, has added another volume on religious experience to his earlier work, *Religious Philosophy* (Doran, 1923). This volume, like the earlier one, reveals a breadth of scientific knowledge which is a valuable asset in the solution of problems of religious belief. The book deals primarily with the psychology of religion. Its purpose as stated by the author is to give a reasonable explanation of religious phenomena, depending chiefly upon psychological findings, but at the

same time using the contributions of other sciences.

This purpose is worked out in a volume of eight chapters. In his introduction, the author reveals his interest in religious education in a plea for a more adequately trained religious leadership. The later chapters deal successively with the process of creation, the developing conception of God, the nature of religion, conversion, prayer, mysticism, and immortality. The author's general procedure is to give a survey of the history of the belief, following this with an analysis of the principal factors—psychological, philosophical and practical—on which the problem hinges. A wide range of material is thus included—too much, the reviewer believes, for some of the chapters are lacking in unity and much material is incorporated which does not fall within the scope of the psychology of religion.

While the book is a useful compendium of material on various phases of religious belief, there is some question as to the extent to which the author has succeeded in writing a book which scientists will consider scientific. In reading it, I frequently had an uneasy feeling that he was trying rather too hard to "steady the ark." Many of its statements which will be readily accepted by those already grounded in theistic faith will be challenged by others as an over-statement or under-proof of the case in point.

Such a danger is apparently foreseen by the author, for he says in his preface, "To the student inclined to a strict positivism, it may seem unscientific to assume the existence and activity of a supernatural power, which unfaillingly makes for righteousness, and which is unhesitatingly called Mind, Spirit, God." He answers this objection by maintaining that it is scientifically legitimate to posit a supernatural agency as a working hypothesis, or "gap-filler," and in his analysis of religious phenomena he has no hesitation in introducing a supernatural agent. In this procedure he differs from most psychologists of religion, who maintain that the idea of God, though it may be a valid philosophical concept, belongs outside the field of observed phenomena and causal sequences with which psychology deals.

The theological position of the author is constructive, and takes a wholesome middle course between traditionalism and ultra-liberalism. The book is not difficult to follow and will doubtless be valuable to the untrained reader or undergraduate student who wants to find an answer to his religious problems. While I have been forced to place numerous question marks in the margin, most of these questions have to do with method and style rather than with the set of beliefs which the author defends.

The style of the book is somewhat verbose and occasionally platitudinous. One wonders, for example, whether it is necessary in the chapter on the creative process to devote so many, many pages to refuting Mr. Bryan and explaining that one may believe in evolution and still be a Christian. On the other hand, the views of philosophers are frequently introduced and then dismissed with such brevity that it is doubtful whether they would be very meaningful to a person not familiar with the history of philosophy. The language at times has a distinctly theological flavor which will not commend the book to those who insist that the terminology as well as concepts of a book on the science of religion must be strictly scientific.

While there can be no doubt that Professor Rohrbaugh has a scholarly knowledge of the material which he includes, he appears to be more interested in problems of personal religious belief than those of pure scholarship. For instance, in his chapter on the developing conception of God he clearly distinguishes between a growing God and a growing idea of God—a problem which commonly troubles students—and passes lightly (too lightly, in my judgment) over the important historical problem of the meaning of magic and its place in the growth of religion. He concludes the chapter with a survey of the various theories of the atonement and a discussion of the nature of God, which will doubtless be practically helpful but will expose him again to the charge of putting too much theology in a book ostensibly devoted to science.

Professor Rohrbaugh believes that conversion can be, and should be, reinstated in modern life. While one misses from his

discussion an analysis of the contributions of the newer psychologies to our understanding of the conversion experience, the chapter contains valuable material which can be read with profit by any religious leader. The chapters on mysticism and immortality are of special merit in their historical surveys.

The volume as a whole is characterized by a virile theistic faith, a mediating position between conservatism and liberalism, a practical grasp of religious problems, and an excellent historical and philosophical background for their solution. Suggestive questions and a good bibliography at the end of each chapter add to its value. The reviewer confesses to a feeling that it only partially merits its title, for it is somewhat lacking in scientific objectivity and a good many sharp questions which biological and mechanistic psychologists are putting to the defenders of religion are passed over rather than answered. However, these limitations ought not to stand in the way of its serving a useful purpose, for the author exemplifies the truth of his own words, "The world to-day needs persons who are able to hold to the good in the old, and at the same time appropriate all that is worth while in the new."

GEORGIA HARKNESS.

Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y.

Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. By HERMANN L. STRACK and PAUL BILLERBECK. Munich: C. H. Beck. Vol. I: Matthew. Pp. viii + 1,055. Vol. II: Mark-Acts. Pp. viii + 867. Vol. III: Romans-Revelation. Pp. 857.

THIS great commentary to the New Testament offers, in convenient form, to the biblical student the huge and baffling rabbinical material illustrating the New Testament. Jesus Christ was a descendant of David, and his apostles, as well as all writers of the New Testament, with the exception of Luke, were born Jews. A thorough understanding of their canonical writings demands a knowledge of the religion and of the life of the Jews in the first century. Since the days of John Lightfoot (d. 1699), Christian scholars had

collected some parallels to the New Testament from rabbinical literature and, particularly through the medium of Ederheim's familiar works, some echoes of Talmudic lore have even reached our Sunday-school pupils. But nothing approaching the thoroughness and completeness of this work had ever been attempted before. The Talmud remains a closed book to all but a few Christian scholars: the bulk and difficulty of this encyclopedic library are so great that no adequate translation is available (the least said about Rodkinson's unfortunate attempt to render the Talmud into English, the better). The authors deserve, therefore, the highest praise for the astonishing skill with which they have given accurate translations of thousands of passages taken from the ancient Jewish records.

The work is primarily, as the title indicates, a commentary of the New Testament based on the Talmud (a bulky exposition of the Mishnah, or corpus of legal traditions) and on the legalistic and homiletic biblical commentaries (Midrash), but it uses extensively other ancient Jewish sources such as Josephus, Philo, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha. It does not take the place of a standard commentary, being primarily a collection of illustrations, parallels, contrasts, from all sections of rabbinical literature, critically sifted and classified. But it is much more than a commentary: through special excursions, in part scattered in these three volumes, and in part to be published in a forthcoming volume devoted entirely to the discussion of special topics of New Testament theology and life, it furnishes trustworthy and full information on Jewish life and thought up to 500 A. D. in connection with matters touched upon in the New Testament. We can find out, for instance, what Jewish sources have to say about the Samaritans (I, 538-560), about the Messianic interpretation of Isa. 53, about marriages and funerals, about angels and demons, about the sabbath, about court procedure, about ritual and festivals, and so on. The index in vol. II and the final one in vol. IV will enable the reader to locate promptly a vast amount of material on any given topic. The second volume contains three special excursions of con-

siderable length: on the *Memra* (word) of Jehovah (302-333), on the feast of Tabernacles (774-812), and on the day of the death of Jesus (812-853). The first one of these makes it perfectly clear that there is no rabbinical precedent or parallel for the doctrine of the *logos* (word) set forth in John 1, 1ff.; the third one discusses fully the discrepancy of the Gospels concerning the day of the crucifixion: the Synoptics place it on the 15th of Nisan, John on the 14th, but they all agree that it was a Friday (the Synoptics follow the reckoning of the Pharisees, John that of the Sadducees).

ROBERT H. PFEIFFER.

Boston University School of Theology.

The Good Will. A Study in the Coherence Theory of Goodness. By H. J. PATON, Fellow of the Queen's College, Oxford. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$5.

ORIGINALITY in the discussion of ethical problems consists of giving a new setting to old problems and their solutions in the light of new knowledge and new experience. We need to examine the nature of human goodness at its springs and note how it has developed through the energies of human will. Since philosophy is the search of truth not as an abstraction but as a reality, the philosophical study of ethics is not merely the play of speculative ingenuity. It is the discovery of those influences which have made or marred human life, according to its acceptance or rejection of the ideals of perfection.

There is no subject that demands more urgent consideration than the understanding of rights and duties in their bearing upon the whole of life. An academic discussion is a preliminary necessity to clarify thought; but it must be followed by the consistent application of the principles thus obtained to the solution of current difficulties. Such is the course followed by Mr. Paton in this volume. To be sure, he makes use of familiar phrases and even indulges in commonplace remarks; but the importance of his study is in the clear way in which he relates knowledge to the will and both to the entire fabric of the whole of life. His discussions might have been abbreviated in

places, but the leisurely way in which he proceeds doubtless has some advantages.

The knowledge of facts alone tells us little or nothing about what is good. Incoherence consists of doing something other than what is willed, as in Saint Paul's confession, "The evil which I would not that I do." This is explained by the failure to recognize that willing involves self-denial and self-realization. A coherent willing is the privilege of the good man, whose clear vision is conditioned on a clean life. Why then have some good men erred in judgment, and in spite of sincerity have undertaken what proved to be fatal misadventures? Was it not because of incompetence and inefficiency, due to a lack of wide experience, wide human sympathy and a full knowledge of particular circumstances and personages? Does this not suggest the need for the church to deepen its convictions and to widen its sympathies?

It is evident that no ready-made program is feasible in a world of shifting conditions, social differences and ethical changes. The question is how to conserve the permanent elements of goodness in an age of tantalizing paradoxes. The problem is how to modify or transform inherited conventions in accord with the eternal law of righteousness; how to overcome the skepticism of ignorance and the cynicism of indifference; how to establish a rational faith in the moral order of the universe and in the ultimate triumph of good will which is at once divine and human.

Mr. Paton's volume is a decided help in facing these issues. It deals with the ethics of nature, and although he says little about the ethics of Christianity, it is easy to see that he is influenced by the Christian view of life. "The goodness of a man is his goodness as a whole man in a society composed of whole men and not so to speak of bits of men." The reality is obviously still in the future, but whatever approximations have been made to this ideal are due to the dynamic of Christianity. It offers not mechanical rules but inspiring principles for the achievement of goodness by a spiritual life which is lived every moment in the spirit of the whole.

A chapter on "The Saint and the Divine Society," fittingly concludes a lucid discussion. The revolutionary spirit makes an appeal from existing society with its imperfect coherence to a more ideal society and a more perfect coherence. In this sense, a saint is a rebel. One reason why Christianity is not gaining the allegiance of men is not because of the new intellectual problems which have hardly been faced, but because of the self-complacency of conventionality, which makes more of respectability than of righteousness. Here is a book which sets forth new lines of thought pertaining to economic and moral goodness. Preachers would do well to study it and get their bearings for a more adequate exposition of the gospel of redemption.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

The Legacy of Israel. Planned by the late I. ABRAHAM and edited by EDWYN R. BEVAN and CHARLES SINGER. New York: Oxford University Press. \$4.

THE most important legacy of Israel consists of the two qualities of unflinching truthfulness and religious reverence. According to the Master of Balliol, Dr. A. D. Lindsay, they are illustrated by the Book of Job and the Ethic of Spinoza. Those who have read the companion volumes on *The Legacy of Greece* and *The Legacy of Rome*, will read the present volume with increased interest. We need not contrast the values of Hellenism and Hebraism, for we need both the esthetical and the ethical to cultivate the graces and the virtues of life. The distinctive contribution of Israel is the vision of spiritual reality, which has influenced every phase of Western civilization. The tardy and reluctant recognition of this indebtedness has at last found generous acknowledgment in this sumptuous volume. The essays are by Christian and Jewish scholars, who vie with each other and nobly unite to give a comprehensive, historical résumé, with scientific impartiality and scholarly detachment, without the insolent intrusion of personal bias and vain conceit.

The biblical record of Israel's legacy was appraised in a previous volume on

The People and the Book, edited by Dr. Arthur S. Peake. It was noticed in the *METHODIST REVIEW* for March, 1927. This aspect of the subject is in the background in the present volume, which is indispensable for an understanding of philosophy, art, science, politics, religion and other forms of culture. It is not possible to deal with this encyclopædic review in a brief notice. All that can be done is to describe some of its contents so as to stimulate you to read the volume for yourself.

It is hard to find a better estimate of "The Hebrew Genius as Exhibited in the Old Testament" than the opening essay by Sir George Adam Smith. A fine sequel to this is the one by Doctor Bevan on "Hellenistic Judaism." Doctor Burkitt appraises the debt of Christianity to Judaism, with special reference to a better text and a clearer understanding of the Old Testament. Mr. Herford condenses the story of eighteen centuries in a readable essay on "The Influence of Judaism upon Jews from Hillel to Mendelssohn." Professor Guillaume has an illuminating paper on "The Influence of Judaism on Islam." Dr. and Mrs. Singer devote over one hundred pages to a historical and critical discussion of "The Jewish Factor in Medieval Thought." It is an amazing record of timely contributions in medicine, mathematics, philosophy, geography. It is interesting to learn that the first European to tread American soil was a Jew, Luis de Torres, who belonged to the first expedition of Columbus.

The Renaissance quickened Hebrew studies which found fruitage in the Reformation. This is shown by Doctor Box. "The Influence of the Old Testament on Puritanism" is sympathetically discussed by Doctor Selbie, who reminds us that the Puritans' intensity of religious devotion and of moral fervor makes us their debtors. A just tribute is paid to Spinoza and to other prolific thinkers of Jewish ancestry by Doctor Roth, who concludes that, "whatever idea of the spiritual has reached the masses of the European peoples is due to the Jewish view of the character of supreme reality. In the light of this achievement all else pales." With this testimony compare the words of Doctor

Magnus: "But for the Jewish contribution to the Reformation, Europe would surely have missed one half of the harvest of humanism."

There is much more in these admirable pages. It is unusual to have descriptions of illustrations, but this feature greatly adds to the historical value of the essays. It should also be said that this volume is one of the finest specimens of modern bookmaking and maintains the high traditions of the Oxford University Press.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

The Study Bible. A Little Library of Exposition. Edited by JOHN STIRLING. Volumes on Genesis, Psalms, Saint Mark, Saint Luke, Romans, Hebrews. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company. \$1.25 each.

THIS is a new style in commentaries. So many of them have appeared that the average reader who should know the best seldom has access to these writings. It was a happy thought for the editor to secure the services of some of the leading scholars and preachers in furnishing general essays on the several books of the Bible. The Notes and Comments consist of the best written on the great texts and their teaching by recognized exegetes and homilists of every branch and age of the church.

Each volume contains an appreciation of the religious value of the book, an investigation of critical matters pertaining to it so as to place it in the line of revelation and bring out its distinctive message, and interpretations which give different points of view and of emphasis in the form of a symposium. There are also brief biographical notes about the writers of the essays and the men whose works are quoted, as well as a bibliography.

The volume on *Genesis* contains an essay by Principal E. Griffith-Jones on its Religious Value, and another by Professor A. C. Welch on the Problems of the Book. The *Psalms* are thus discussed by Dr. L. M. Watt and Professor J. E. M'Fadyen; *Saint Mark* by Bishop A. A. David and Dr. A. E. J. Rawlinson; *Saint Luke* by Dr. F. W. Norwood and Professor F. R. Barry; *Hebrews* by Dean Inge and Pro-

fessor H. L. Goudge; *Romans* by Bishop F. T. Woods and Professor James Moffatt.

Special mention should be made of the address to the reader by the editor. It is written in a most charming style and stimulates interest in the particular book of the Bible. Take this paragraph from the volume on Hebrews: "No bolder interpretation of Christ, nor greater claim for the finality and perfection of the Christian Revelation, is made in the New Testament than that which is offered in this epistle. Because the language used is strange to anyone not familiar with Jewish ritual, it may be difficult for the general reader to grasp readily the great conception the words are intended to reveal. To make the meaning clear is the purpose of this little volume, and to this end it brings together the explanations which many eminent scholars have given of the writer's thought."

I cannot think of anything better for preachers and laymen, who want to know the best thought inspired by the sacred oracles, which are still capable of guiding us in the way of salvation and duty. When the remaining volumes are published, this series will be recognized as one of the most acceptable to all students of the Word of God.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

Secrets of Effective Living. By JAMES G. GILKEY. Pp. 172. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.75, net.

THE author "travels light." Not that he cannot travel differently. He can, and has. But in this book he is determined upon a simple discussion. He succeeds! Of course, were one sure that his book will circulate among the simple folks to whom the simple points he makes might come as a revelation, we should have a horse of a different color to deal with. But if a metaphorical or metaphysical use of "bet" is possible or permissible in this eminent REVIEW, we would bet that his book will have its widest circulation among preachers and folks already well versed in the simpler articles of the faith. What makes our phantom wager the more secure is the fact that to a book with such a gorgeous and helpful collection of illustrations as

this, preachers will flock like bees, and in a few months' time, the secrets of the *Secrets of Effective Living* will be secrets no more, for they shall have been proclaimed with unction in every nook and cranny of the land!

Unless our nose for sources is utterly astray, the author leans heavily on Harry Emerson Fosdick; nor is he alone in this. He might do a deal worse! Take now Fosdick's book on *The Meaning of Service*. That travels simply, but also deeply! A trip from Fosdick ought to be sufficient for Gilkey. Next time the yearning comes on him to "travel light," let him read Fosdick afresh. There is not a thing wrong with this book. Gilkey's style, while scarcely entrancing, is passing fair. But there is so much to be said on this subject one wishes he might have said, even to the exclusion of a few of the delightful illustrations which will abet the homiletical tasks of some thousands of preachers. One of our Advocates reproduced a few pages of his book for its front page. Any one of his pages will be found equally religious. But if you must simply wet your feet here in the secrets of effective living, and then care to plunge with the reckless determination of a "Festus, I dive!" mood, try G. B. Smith's *Principles of Christian Living*, and know the thrill of having the ocean waves of truth splash all over you.

JOHN M. VERSTEEG.

Newark, N. J.

Passiontide. By N. LEVISON, B.D. Pp. ix + 180. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

N. LEVISON, born and bred in Galilee, where he learned first to despise and then to worship the Prophet of Nazareth, has written with keen insight into the Oriental state of mind that made possible and necessary the crucifixion of Jesus. He has intimately portrayed each step of the journey up to Jerusalem, made a thorough study of the events of each day of the Passion week, carefully inquired into the details of the irregular trial of Jesus and his crucifixion, briefly stated the evidence for the Resurrection, and has concluded his

book with a short discussion of the attitude of God toward the tragedy of the ages, and the significance of the Resurrection for the world.

This discussion of Passion Week is introduced by an illuminating picture of the background out of which it came: both the political conditions of Judæa at the time of the Advent, and the Messianic expectations of the people. Writing, as he does, in an informal, intimate way, he is able to recreate the scenes of Jesus' passion in such a way that they become not only impressive, but persuasive and abiding. A finished scholarship, and a thorough understanding of the early Jewish mind, together with a deep sympathy and reverence for Jesus and his problems, render the pages of this book intensely interesting and immensely valuable.

JOSEPH M. BLESSING.

High Bridge, N. J.

The Life of Paul. (A New, Revised Edition.) By BENJAMIN W. ROBINSON, Ph.D. Pp. 268. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. \$2.

THOSE who have been acquainted with the deserved popularity of this *Life of Paul*, by Professor Robinson, since its original publication in 1918, will welcome this new edition. Those who have not known it in its eight previous printings have a rare treat in store for them. Preserving the same live, inspiring spirit and deep, thorough-going scholarship that marked the original edition, it contains an additional chapter on "The Religion of Paul," together with a revised and up-to-date bibliography.

Generally, the more of Saint Paul that one has flung at him, the less he loves him: until he discovers *the man*. Doctor Robinson has realized this difficulty with a stereotyped *Saint Paul*, so he has dropped the "saint" from his name, though he has in no way erased it from his character. He has then introduced this man of the ages as a boy "spending his mornings sitting upon the wharves looking with curiosity upon the ships that came in." That is where Paul developed the "Wanderlust," and it was from that same "stone pier at Seleucia, the harbor of Antioch,

that Barnabas and Paul sailed forth" to conquer the world.

The story of the travels of Paul is every bit as fascinating as those of Livingstone, whom Paul so much resembles. In fact, the similarity was so great that Doctor Robinson said that "he was a David Livingstone, with the height and depth of Livingstone's soul, sent not to darkest Africa, but to the most enlightened cities of his world." And the record of these journeyings back and forth across the length of the Mediterranean Basin has been set down with the skill of one who has learned the art of being scholarly without dullness.

Throughout the book Professor Robinson portrays Paul as a well informed administrator, who has drunk deeply at every clean well of thought and experience known to him, including the Stoics and the Mystery Religions. Everywhere he shows how the things Paul did were good business as well as true religion.

Paul did not waste his time in little things, and studiously avoided inconsequential bickerings and places. His churches were all planted in strategic points from which their influence could radiate into the back country. And as Paul avoided the trifling things of his day, so our author has avoided the little things about Paul. I do not mean that he has missed anything in Paul's character, but that he has escaped the tendency to chase around the nooks and crannies of a Greek Lexicon looking for a theological saint.

Professor Robinson does not take us into Paul's wardrobe, his book case, or his prison cell. He rather takes us up to the Acropolis, the hills above Antioch, or Jerusalem, or Rome, and there permits us to look down on the whole panorama of Paul's activities. There we catch a broad and inclusive point of view, and the incidentals fall into their places like slugs in a linotype machine.

Doctor Robinson has made Paul come out of the sanctuary, has drawn him out of the eternal twilight of the Cathedrals, and clothed him in flesh and blood so that he could "walk the city's streets again." As we see him there we know why it was that "at Paul's conversion Christianity was a

Jewish sect," but "at his death it was a world-religion." It all happened because Paul possessed a world view.

It is an unusually fine book for classroom use, for it is so clear, so conclusive, and so alive with the activities of history's busiest and most productive man that the average student cannot escape the dynamic magnetism of the father of the Christian Church.

JOSEPH M. BLESSING.

High Bridge, N. J.

CHURCH MUSIC AND HYMNS

How to Improve Church Music. By ERNEST O. SELLERS. Pp. 160. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$1.50.

Hymns for Worship. Compiled and arranged by LAVINA H. DATE. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company. \$1.75, for introduction, \$1.20 each.

The American Student Hymnal. Edited by H. AUGUSTINE SMITH. New York: The Century Company.

THOUGH there are many valuable teachings in that first book, it would not serve greatly to improve music in the church. It places little emphasis on the worship element in music. Even the hymn is valued only as inspirational, informative, interpretive, illustrative and imaginative. Its psychology of sacred song is quite shallow and its standards of the literary and aesthetic elements in hymns and music are not of the highest order. Though it condemns jazz, its outlined song sermons are furnished by an officer of the Rode-heaver Company. (Our readers ought to prefer Earl E. Harper's *Church Music and Worship*.)

Both the above listed hymnals are far above the standard of that textbook. *Hymns for Worship*, beyond its compilation by the competent Mrs. Date, had the advantage of being edited by that capable hymnologist, Carl F. Price. Besides the careful selection of the noblest hymns of all past ages of the church, it has added carefully chosen sacred songs of to-day. From modern so-called Gospel songs only

those have been used which appear to have a real measure of permanent value both in words and tunes.

The American Student Hymnal is something new and dynamic for religious use in schools, colleges and universities. Its lyrics are naturally wider in range than those specially adapted to church worship, but they are artistic and most vigorously vital, gathered widely from the whole range of moral and spiritual poetry. Though it has gone far outside the realm of merely spiritual songs, there are probably none that do not have real inspirational value both for head and heart. Nothing like it has appeared before and it deserves primary consideration in the educational field.

American Presidents. By THOMAS FRANCIS MORAN. Pp. xiii + 318. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$2.50, net.

The "Also Rans." By DON C. SEITZ. Pp. xxiv + 356. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$3.50, net.

THE first book is a revised edition of a study of the chief executives of the United States, devoted especially to their "Individualities and their contribution to American progress." These condensed biographical sketches discover in these rulers "a great variety of personalities and abilities," so "there is no monotony in the panorama." There is no hero worship nor prejudiced censure in these character sketches. While it certainly does not reveal a universal element of genius in all the Presidents, it nevertheless does give portraits of a bunch of bigger men than most of European kings.

Far more interesting, however, is the second book, a collection of journalistic photographs of eighteen "Men Who Missed the Presidency." Although there are a few inferiors in this list, on the whole in personality and ability these unsuccessful aspirants are an array of great names quite equal to the list of winners described in the former volume. Aaron Burr (in spite of his moral collapse), John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, William H. Seward, Horace Greeley, Samuel J. Tilden and

James G. Blaine—how many elected men surpassed in varied ability this group of unlucky candidates. Even William Jennings Bryan, who probably would not have made a great or successful President, must stand in personality high above Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Arthur or Harding. One can understand why Professor Moran, in the earlier study of those who achieved, had to have a chapter on "Why Great Men Are Not Chosen Presidents."

Both books are interesting and intelligent (and other) voters will do well to read both of them as a guide to the chief of choices. Both are well written, but Mr. Seitz has a pungent and breezy style. Neither volume can be called a collection of biographies or essays, but every chapter in each is a delightful merger of both literary forms. There is nothing in either that can lessen the growing greatness in human history of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt or Wilson. America has added real heroes to the records of the human race.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

A Girl of an Indian Garden. (Revell, \$1.) These letters of FLORA ROBINSON HOWELLS, a missionary teacher in the high schools of Lucknow and the Isabella Thoburn College, are a remarkable portrayal of the personal power that comes through purpose, performance, friendship and faith. She discovered the reward of finding one's life work, the secret of renewing one's strength, the blessing of an understanding heart and the triumph of personal influence. As Bishop McDowell says of her letters, "They are radiant, like her life, that keeps on shining in the dark places."

Explorations at Sodom. By MELVIN GROVE KYLE. (Revell, \$1.50.) While Doctor Kyle has somewhat exaggerated in previous works the apologetic value to Christianity of archaeology, he is quite a master of these explorations and this story of ancient Sodom in the light of modern research is a somewhat thrilling story of very valuable discoveries in that Dead Sea region. Of course real religion is a pres-

ent fact, but such past facts have much worth to believers.

Bible Lamplighters. By EDWARD SHILLITO. (Revell, \$1.50.) This British preacher is a vivid and clear writer of such missionary stories from the Bible for boys and girls. Pastors and teachers can discover here a way to use for present training the stories of Joseph, Ruth, Jonah, Paul, Luke and twenty other Scriptural characters. The Bible is a marvelous gallery, filled with lighted lamps.

Morals for Ministers. By R. E. X. (Macmillan, \$1.50.) The clergy are being deluged with ethical criticisms to-day. However, some periodical self-criticism is more useful to the ministry. They have faults, mixed motives, vanity, laxness, plagiarism and a score of other defects sensibly and wittily given in this little book. It will be a wholesome tonic for most of us.

Children's Prayers. Recorded by Their Mother. (The Pilgrim Press, \$1.25.) A mother is most magnanimous to offer such a record of her children's prayers. Her four boys marvelously developed their Christian lives from babyhood to ten years of age. Here are prayers of gratitude, advent prayers, social prayers and others. This Methodist woman who married a Congregational minister is a precious pattern for all parents. They should read her story and practice its teachings.

The Bronze Turkey. By ELIZABETH WILLIS. (Crowell, \$2.) A Western Canadian story which will be of pleasure to Girl Scouts and Campfire Girls. An unusually attractive book with colored illustrations.

Self Expression, Through the Spoken Word. By ALLEN CRAFTON and JESSICA ROGERS. (Crowell, \$1.75.) The youth of to-day are too weak in language and are taught too little as to its oral use. Voice, pronunciation, articulation, emphasis, bodily behavior all need careful training. This pedagogic treatise is an excellent textbook both for conversation, elocution and public speech. It will help also in the

interpretation of literature. This would aid some preachers in their public reading and extemporaneous speaking.

The Deed and the Doom of Jesus. By F. HERBERT STEAD. (Scribner's, 60 cents.) What did Jesus do and bear for us in his life and death? It is more than we can ever measure. This is a somewhat psychological study of his acts and habits as revealed in his conduct in succession and in co-existence. It is worth while to look within the spirit of the living and the crucified Christ. No modern mind can go beyond that mystery.

Divorce and Nullity. By R. H. CHARLES. (Scribner's, 60 cents.) This essay tremendously annihilates the dogmas of nullity used by the Roman Church, but does not state strongly enough the teaching of Jesus as to marriage; placing too much emphasis on the teaching of Jesus on the subject as rather indefinitely stated in the First Gospel. Students of divorce should read this short essay, but need not accept its conclusions.

His Last Week. By J. W. G. WARD. (Doubleday-Doran, \$1.75.) Thomas, the Doubter, tells this tale of the passion and triumph of Christ. Why did he doubt? how was he convinced? These questions are strikingly answered in this narrative. During the Lenten season to walk the week with Thomas would have a high devotional value to most of us. Doctor Ward, an English minister, is now pastor of the First Congregational Church in Detroit, Mich.

Jesus Christ. By ANTHONY C. DEANE. (Doubleday-Doran, \$1.50.) In a brief book, the four Gospels are woven into one, especially revealing the Teacher, his teachings by word, deed and character, and the crisis of his life. This does come into close personal relationship with Jesus Christ and readers will feel his presence. It shows how beliefs about him will grow in the heads of those whose hearts have loyal faith in him.

Family Devotions. By HOWARD CHANDLER ROBBINS. (Century Co., \$1.75.) We

commend this devotional book, compiled by Dean Robbins, of the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, to be used in household services of prayer in company with that other very valuable work on public worship edited by Bishop Thirkield of Methodism.

The Temple of Topaz. By F. W. BOREHAM. (Abingdon, \$1.75.) In his score of brilliant essay books, Boreham had five most precious volumes on *Texts That Made History* of which this is the last. Here are essays on texts used by William Law, Abraham Lincoln, Frances Willard, John Milton, Saint Patrick, Victor Hugo and more than a dozen other historical heroes. They are rich homiletical material for preachers, and helpful messages to the laity.

The Desire of All Nations. By EGBERT W. SMITH. (Doubleday-Doran, \$1.50.) This is a most vital and vivid missionary book, written by the executive secretary of Presbyterian Foreign Missions. It deals with the Bible, the preacher, the church, the school, the penny and the critic in their relation to missions. That penny chapter is a most thorough presentation of financial stewardship, and the critic chapter reveals that while missions have been condemned by ignorant critics, many great ones, not specially religious, have praised them. Charles Darwin said, "The lesson of the missionary is the wand of the enchanter," and he became a regular contributor to Foreign Missions. This book, read and practiced, would put real vitality into all World Service.

Modern Pathfinders in Christianity. By HENRY KELLOCH ROWE. (Revell, \$2.) Modern Christianity has had great apostolic leaders equal to those of early Christianity. This book begins with Francis of Assisi and ends with Borden Parker Bowne, and between them are noble names such as Luther, Wesley, Asbury, Carey, Moody and others. Such biography is one of highest interest and inspiration. This writer is genuinely fundamental and openly modern. Surely these last six centuries have been equal to the first six in our church history.

Tested Programs for Special Days. By BERNARD C. CLAUSEN. (Revell, \$1.) Any church that observes such special Sundays, such as Mother's, Father's, Old People's, Family, and thirty-six others, crowding out expository, evangelistic, and doctrinal preaching, is banishing the Gospel from the pulpit. It is only fair to say that this author does not advise the every year use of these programs. Yet he has even left out the most important in the Church Calendar, Pentecost, the birthday of the church. All these subjects can be reached by Bible preaching better than by specialized services. Clausen does it well, but—!

Five World Problems. By CHARLES JEFFERSON. (Revell, \$1.50.) These five addresses are valuable for missionary instruction and inspiration. His problems concern India, the Philippines, China, Japan, and the Hawaiian Islands. They have a living background for Doctor Jefferson made a continuous travel of more than a year through all these lands. He sees everywhere the rainbow, the symbol of hope.

Walking with God. By COSTEN J. HARBELL. (Cokesbury Press, \$1.) In these 190 pages we have sixty short messages well adapted to devotional reading, written simply, but in beautiful style and alive with real religion. They are excellent for reading at a prayer service or a young people's meeting.

Gentlemen—the King! By JOHN OXENHAM. (Pilgrim Press, 75 cents.) One of the most spiritual of English poets has given us in beautiful verses a picture of the life of Christ from his boyhood to the Ascension. Mystical, imaginative, lyrical—this could well accompany the preceding book on *Walking with God*, for devotional distinction. The eighteen line drawings by Langford Jones are exquisite.

The Religious Development of Adolescents. By OSCAR KUPKY. (Macmillan, \$1.50.) Professor Kupky has developed this valuable study entirely out of first-hand information obtained from the personal diaries of young men and women,

representing practically every type of youth. He has analyzed the determining factors in this development, and found that religion matures along with the personality, through continual struggles that finally doubt their way to firm belief. Clear, positive, and thorough, this book opens the way for a new approach to the solution of the riddle of adolescence.—J. M. B.

The Dreams of Youth. By WALTER AMOS MORGAN. (Century Company, \$2.) Pastors who are being asked to recommend books for boys and girls who are becoming interested in reading will find this volume unusually attractive. The forty-seven stories given here were originally told as children's sermons in Doctor Morgan's various pastorates. Drawing his theme from what he considers to be the key to the future: the dreams of youth, he has told these stories in a fascinating way that will impress both children and their elders. They are true, vigorous, and wholesome. Drawn, as they were, from the everyday lives of boys and girls, they will go a long way toward helping to make their dreams come true.—J. M. B.

An Everyday Christian. By JOHN GONFREY HILL. (Methodist Book Concern, 75 cents.) "What makes me an everyday Christian?" asks Doctor Hill as he opens this little book. He explains that to be an everyday Christian, "I must have an ideal to live by, a program to work for, a way to meet my difficulties, spend my resources, wisely learn how to live with others, make and keep friends, establish a Christian home, cultivate the beautiful, do my share of the world's work, learn how to play without shame, and make my religion count." The thirteen chapters of this book undertake to explain in a sympathetic, informal manner, the need for, and the winsomeness of "Everyday Christians." Developed, as it was, out of discussions and conversations with numerous young people, it speaks directly to them, in their own language, touching their own problems, and doing its share to make of questioning youth a generation of sturdy Christians who will consistently practice their religion every day in the year.—J. M. B.

The Reformed Church Pulpit, Edited by FREDERICK K. STAMM. (Macmillan Company, \$2.50.) It is refreshing to encounter a collection in which the poor sermons are so few as to permit the assertion that here is a remarkable book. I do not know where one can find a more engaging volume. The Reformed Church does well to be proud of men who evince such technique, such scholarliness, such culture, such fine sense and such deep spirituality. The sermon by Doctor Leinbach is worth the price of the book. That might also be said of Doctor Richards' sermon and of Doctor Dunmore's. Such an exhibition of uniformly effective preaching does us all good. It is a real contribution to contemporary homiletical literature. If you must buy books of sermons—an indulgence younger preachers had best eschew!—buy a book like this, and be sure you will get more than your money's worth.—J. M. V.

Philosophy. By BERTRAND RUSSELL. Pp. 301. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. \$3.00.

It is easy to disagree with Bertrand Russell, but it is impossible to ignore him. Among the Realists, he is probably the most sensitive to philosophical and psychological movements. Gifted with an international mind and with ability for extensive reading, his greatest sin is that of speaking too soon. Thus, he has changed his point of view repeatedly. It is difficult to begin with *The Problems of Philosophy* (1912) and work out the Russell philosophy. There have been many Russells since 1912. Or, possibly one might explain the changes by the principle of "Occam's Razor"—"*Entia non multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*."

Philosophy shows the author at the latest stage of his development. From this view, the book is of interest at three significant points:

1. There is frank interest in Gestaltpsychologie, or the psychology of configuration. It is remembered that in *Analysis of Mind* (1921) there was considerable satisfaction with the Behaviorism of Dr. Watson. The author is still a behaviorist in technique and in the use of the principle of the conditioned reflex. But, he has cer-

tain objections to behavioristic theory. The principle of "learned reactions" is valuable; but alone, it is not sufficient to explain all human and animal learning. At the same time, there are some habits which do not seem to have their origin in the conditioned reflex. Gestaltpsychologie provides a possible escape from some of these difficulties. It is expected that any study of Gestalt will make frequent reference to Köhler and Koffka. And Russell makes much use of Köhler's study of chimpanzees. The configuration principle is not new, but in the last decade it has attracted much attention.

2. Once again, man is granted the privilege of looking at himself from within. The author finds much of value in the methods of external observation. But he also allows for the introspective analysis of images, imagination, memory, emotion, desire, will, and the normative values. To be sure this is a purified form of introspection. Behaviorism placed a needed emphasis upon the organism as a whole. Mental events are not isolated. Therefore, in the new introspection it must be remembered that the contents of a human mind are very complex—much more complex than Wundt realized.

3. In Part Two we meet the old problem of the physical world—what is matter? The two technical problems, to which this question gives rise, are: the structure of the atom, and the theory of relativity. Russell follows Heisenburg and Schrodinger; and describes the atom by means of its radiations. The electron is a region of energy—not a "thing." Thus, matter is not a "thing." The theory of relativity was worked out to explain certain processes in regions where there are no electrons and protons. Certain implications follow: The constituents of the physical world are "events." These "events" stand in a space-time relationship, rather than in space and in time. For physics there is no cosmic time—a problem with which theology must some time deal. There are discontinuous changes in nature—one phase of the problem of emergence. The course of emergent nature is not so definitely determined by physical laws as it was once thought to be. Some philosophers will

associate this conclusion with *De la Cointelligence des Lois de la Nature*, the doctor's thesis presented at the Sorbonne, in 1874, by Émile Boutroux. For some, this world of Heisenburg is too "ghostly." And "Planck's constant" has been under criticism. However, this new world, within the atom, is giving a new interest and a new vocabulary to metaphysics.

Then, the cutting criticism, which we have learned to look for in Russell, flashes again. Subjects are easily found in our complex world—Kant, Watson, American restless energy, the Ku Klux Klan. The reader may not agree, but he will be stimulated by contact with one of the most active minded philosophers of this century.

RALPH D. HARPER.

Manchester, Michigan.

Our Times. The United States 1900-1925.
Vol. I. The Turn of the Century;
Vol. II. America Finding Herself.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
\$10.

MARK SULLIVAN is well qualified to write contemporary history. He has vivid imagination, large knowledge of facts in the wide sweep of their significance, keen sense of news values, understanding of the law of continuity, ability to report and to interpret events. What is more to the point, he convinces the reader that "in all time no such colossal changes had occurred in so brief a period" as during the first quarter of our century.

These two volumes furnish a conclusive argument in favor of democracy. They really narrate the progress made by the average person during the romantic evolution and revolution of the political, industrial, social and cultural life of America. Most important have been the achievements in the fields of science, the invention and perfection of mechanical processes and the extension of knowledge.

Events are brought about by the leadership of strong men and by the co-operation of the rank and file, influenced by natural and economic forces. We cannot understand the leadership of Roosevelt, Bryan and Wilson in this period unless we reckon with the mood of irritation, the feeling of unrest, the spirit of revolt exhibited by

the average American who was determined to get his rights. The prevailing idea that we are carried away by gusts of emotionalism is a half-truth contradicted by the facts of our history. The idealism of the American temperament explains the readiness to dismiss the old and try the new, with an adaptiveness peculiar to us. This fact is well borne out in the chapters on "Leaders and Forces"; "New Times, New Events, New Issues"; "The Larger History" in the first volume, and in the ten chapters on "The American Mind" in the second volume.

Many who read this notice have lived through the changes reviewed in these colorful chapters, illustrated by numerous cartoons, photographs and sketches. But it refreshes the memory and quickens the appreciation of progress to read about the genesis of big business, the growth of trusts, the coal strike, the crusades for pure food and other reforms, the changes in fashions and customs, the conflicts with political corruption, the struggles, songs and pleasures of the people. What a galaxy of men emerged out of obscurity into prominence as they here appear!

To-day we are suffering from a dearth of leadership of the outstanding type seen in the first quarter century. In the political and other spheres of thought and achievement. May this not be due to the fact, so well shown in these pages, that the common man who was the Forgotten Man has come to the front? Where so many of his kind have been elevated to stations which in former days were occupied by the few, it requires men of unusual qualifications to be accepted as pre-eminent leaders. There is no need for disparagement nor discouragement, and least of all for the sentimental assumption that the former days were better than these. We are headed for yet bigger things.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

Shakespeare Studies. By ELMER EDGAR STOLL. (Macmillan, \$4.)

THE literature on Shakespeare continues to appear at regular intervals and every writer contributes his quota toward the appreciation of the world's dramatist. Pro-

fessor Stoll has mastered the drama of all nations and his wealth of reference is embarrassing. His purpose is to place Shakespeare in the world of his contemporaries and to show how distinctly he was a man of his age. Their verdict was not favorable to the playwright but he knew better than to fulminate against their harsh and sinister judgments. It must never be forgotten that Shakespeare was both local and universal. Any criticism of his plays

and sonnets must do full justice to his tolerance, geniality, sympathy, common-sense and extraordinary imaginative power. The Shakespeare student will find much that is suggestive in these eight chapters on characterization, literature and life, the comic method, the ghosts, Shylock, the criminals, Falstaff. This volume is a substantial contribution toward the understanding of writings which will always continue to be read and enjoyed.

A READING COURSE

The Evolution of Ethics As Revealed in the Great Religions. Edited by E. HERSCHEY SNEATH, LL.D. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$4.

The Ethics of the Gospel and the Ethics of Nature. By H. H. SCULLARD, D.D. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

LORD MELBOURNE, a former Premier of Great Britain, was active in church reform, and yet he once remarked that things were coming to a pretty pass when religion was being made a personal matter. If religion does not touch the life of the individual to transform it; if it is a question of speculation for the theologian, philosopher and scientist; if it is a subject for learned disputes and conflicting decisions, then religion is a theory and not a practice. But the history of religion disproves such a view of it. It has a definite message for character and its expression in right living. Saint Paul found this out after his experience at Athens. When he discoursed learnedly on comparative religion his hearers listened with interest, but as soon as he tried to make application of the truth by calling them to repentance, some sneered, others indefinitely postponed the discussion, and only a few earnest folk remained to hear him through (Acts 17. 16ff.).

Religion is a personal matter or it is nothing. Faith and loyalty must always go together. The implications of faith are adequately appreciated only by those who

make applications of it to themselves and to others. The New Testament stresses the moral rather than the intellectual conditions of belief because the moral gives the right perspective to the intellectual approach. "Everywhere in these writings," says Professor Baillie, "faith is a possession, not of the sharp-witted and the clear-headed, but of the true-hearted and the loyal. Its closest associates are always a pure heart and a good conscience" (*The Roots of Religion in the Human Soul*, p. 218).

This was the thought in F. W. Robertson's sermon on "Obedience the Organ of Spiritual Knowledge," based on the text: "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself" (John 7. 17). Dr. F. H. Bradley, in *Ethical Studies*, is none too emphatic in saying: "A man who is 'religious' and does not act morally, is an impostor, or his religion is a false one. . . . Religion is essentially a doing, and a doing which is moral. It implies a realizing, and a realizing of the good self" (314). They who refer to "mere morality," as though it were a secondary consideration, have yet to learn how Jesus insisted that the core of religion is moral. No pietism has any value which is lacking in moral qualities.

Indeed, all the great religions of the world have magnified the moral imperative as an indispensable associate of religious integrity. A comparative study of the moral teachings of these religions is given

in *The Evolution of Ethics*. The writers of these essays have a thorough knowledge of their subject. They are unanimous in the conviction that "the highest values of true religion are ethical." They attempt to see what is best without ignoring defects and shortcomings. On the whole, these studies are reliable interpretations of ethical doctrine and practice.

Misplaced emphasis has caused wrong evaluations in religion. When the moral appeal has been subordinated to that made by the intellectual, the emotional and the ritualistic, the results have invariably been disastrous. The prophets of every religion were aware of this perilous temptation. Note what is said on this subject (360ff.). Well might Doctor Bradley write: "We maintain that neither church-going, meditation nor prayer, except so far as it reacts on practice and subserves that, is religious at all. Aesthetic or speculative contemplation it may be: it may be a production of the feeling at least in part, which results from the satisfied religious will; but religious it is not, except so far as it means will to do: and it is not that will, except so far as it manifests itself in religious-moral acts" (337).

The superb sufficiency of Christianity is strikingly seen when it is placed against the background of the ethnic religions. Their best representatives saw the City of God afar off and their eager aspirations fell far short of realization. Their ideals indicate the nature of their morals. A wide gap often existed between vision and deed, and this is equally true of Christians, but the ethical reactions and social reforms, even though limited in range, were among the effective influences leading the human race towards the fullness of light in Jesus Christ.

The essays in this volume on Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian ethics have historical value for the student of Old Testament ethics. That on the ethics of Greek religion is an impressive exposition. The essays on the living religions furnish convincing evidence of the impact of Christianity, which has led their modern leaders to make apologetic restatements which indirectly testify to their recognition of the superiority of Christianity. The recent attempts of Confucianists to find Christian

teachings in Chinese classics are akin to what Hindus, Shintoists, Buddhists and Moslems, who have studied in Western universities, are trying to do in galvanizing their ancestral faiths by reading into them what they have learned from Christianity. Hinduism's prevailing conception of God is fundamentally defective, making its ethical standards and practices equally defective. It is, therefore, hardly correct to say, with Professor Hopkins, that the ethics of Hinduism approaches nearer to that of Christianity than does that of any other moral system (138). That honor belongs to Zoroastrianism, concerning which Professor Jackson writes: "If we take the Zoroastrian religion in its entirety, and view it in the light of the early period to which it belongs, we shall come to the conviction that outside the light of biblical revelation it would be hard to find among the Gentile nations a higher standard of morality, a nobler code of ethics, than that set up by Zoroaster to be maintained by the ancient people of the Land of the Lion and the Sun" (155). When the doctrine of fatalism is spread over the pages of the Koran, and its grim ally fanaticism has vitiated Moslem life, it is to apply to the many what is doubtless true of the few, to say that essential Islam is not a religion of submission or acceptance, but recognizes and encourages moral freedom (329). The two essays on Old Testament ethics are based upon extreme positions in criticism, and they are analytical but not synthetical. What is written on the ethics of the gospels and of the Pauline Epistles clearly show that the goal of perfection is to be reached only by Jesus Christ.

This subject is frankly discussed by Doctor Scullard. He develops the significance of Christian ethics and reaffirms the incomparable superiority of the biblical record. In some chapters he makes a needlessly sharp distinction between the supernatural basis and the rational determinations of human experience. Nor does he sufficiently appreciate the course of man's labored reflection on ethical truth. His arbitrary assertions and the scant courtesy shown to idealism, pragmatism and other types of thought are not justifiable. On the other hand, his insistence that Jesus Christ is the center of the moral

universe (204); that Christian ethics are "not autonomous but Christ-onomous" (230); that he who relies upon the Word of God and the promises of Christ has an exceptional boldness (143); that the ethics of the gospel rest on the sacrifice of Jesus Christ upon the Cross and his victory over sin and death (258)—all this is very reassuring.

The book is written from the evangelical standpoint. It maintains that the gospel is a revelation rather than a philosophy, an announcement more than a speculation, good news of something that has taken place and not a conjecture of what is yet to be. Doctor Scullard prefers the word "Gospel" to "Christian," because it keeps in closer touch with the sources and has a much better history than the word "Christian," which has been conventionalized. Note the reasons given for this preference and whether the criticism is just (8ff.). If the word "Christian" has suffered at the hands of friends and foes, should we not empty it of its unworthy contents, and give it a meaning in harmony with the New Testament? If stoic ideas and habits have molded Christendom, almost to the exclusion of what is Christian, should we not discover and uncover what is inherently and distinctively Christian, and do for our own age what was so magnificently done by Luther in the sixteenth and by John Wesley in the eighteenth century? Here then is the opportunity of an evangelical Christianity which brings to its task the vivid experience of the divine grace, so as to exalt the centrality of the Cross, and give Christ his place of primacy as Saviour and Lord.

The distinction between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith has introduced an unwarranted dichotomy. The gospels cannot be separated from the epistles, as though the former contain a better because more humane standard than the latter. Both gospels and epistles were the confessional interpretations of the early church concerning the finality of Jesus Christ. "By no principles of criticism, which do not do violence to the sources themselves can we include the Sermon on the Mount in the ethics of Jesus, and exclude the moral teaching of Jesus as given by Paul and Peter and John" (13). In-

deed, unless we reckon with the whole New Testament, our emphasis is onesided and misleading.

We need to go further and have regard for the Old Testament. Its greatest merit is that it moralized the idea of holiness and humanized the conception of God (34). Its exceptional value is that the truth of an advancing revelation was expressed in the experience of the saints and seers, who enjoyed the unity of personal fellowship with the eternal God. He spoke by divers manners and in divers portions, and continued to do so until at last he spoke by his Son, who is the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person (Heb. 1. 1ff.).

The gospel of the Kingdom was the perfect type of Mystery Religion, universal but also esoteric. What distinguished it from the mystery cults of paganism? (39ff.) What is the supernatural sanction of Christian ethics? (50ff.) The chapter on "The Authority of Jesus Christ" is an excellent discussion on the moral imperative of his Personality. Why is there no good substitute for the genuine Christian fellowship of the church? (74ff.) The Christian character has greater depth and inwardness, and greater breadth and sympathy (95). But Doctor Scullard's tacit commendation of otherworldliness is of a kind that produced the perverted piety of asceticism and monasticism. He fails to deal with social evangelicalism, which many in American Protestantism believe is in harmony with the accepted teachings of the New Testament, and which must be applied to the entire range of our complex modern life.

The succeeding chapters show a shifting of the center of gravity from justification by faith to the stoic exaltation of self-control and self-culture, with the church's lapse into legalism, that was subversive of spiritual and moral freedom. Luther and the other Protestant reformers who rediscovered the gospel were not wholly emancipated from the trammels of the past. They nevertheless compelled the church to turn from abstractions to facts. The two chapters on "The Reappearance of Evangelical Ethics," and, "The Parting of the Ways" make a lucid comparison of Romanism and Protestantism, and also

estimates the limited contribution of humanism.

The four chapters on the ethics of nature in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries discuss the philosophical, naturalistic ethics of churchmen and non-churchmen. This brief survey of the ethical thinking of British and continental teachers furnishes a desirable background for the fuller appreciation of Christian ethics. "It is because the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is so much more than an idea, or scheme, or fact of nature, that the Christian remains sober in his thinking" (182). Compare the Christian conception with that of Spinoza, who rather than being a "God-intoxicated" man was intoxicated by his own ideas (180ff.). Note what is said of the superficial thinking of the Deists (186ff.). Although Butler's teaching on conscience is a permanent contribution to the psychology of ethics, it is nevertheless a disappointment from the point of view of Christian ethics (189). Kant likewise failed because he "substituted for the apostolic idea of the kingdom of God a Realm of Ends, and for the knowledge of God and the obedience of faith the autonomy of the practical reason or will" (201). The New Testament type of Utilitarianism rightly advocates not the "greatest" happiness, but the "highest" happiness of the greatest number. This is in keeping with its universal outlook, which makes possible for all the acceptance of the gospel which is "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus." This is the message which gives ethics a substantial foundation on which to build the structure of Christlike character to the glory of the divine grace.

Side Reading

Morals in Review. By A. K. ROGERS. (Macmillan, \$3.50.) This revaluation of ethics is a good supplement to the chapters in Doctor Scullard's volume. More than half of this historical survey is given to British moralists, many of whom have lost their appeal. The law of proportion

is well observed, although the writer inclines to a leniency toward the radical inconsistencies of some of the thinkers. The idea of quality in ethics might have been stressed to greater advantage. The significant contribution of New Testament ethics should have received fuller attention, and at least one chapter given to Oriental ethics. This history of ethical speculation is marked by lucid judgments. It does ample justice to the earnest endeavors of Western ethical thinkers for the enriching of our corporate life.

Adventures on the Borderlands of Ethics. By RICHARD C. CABOT. (Harpers, \$2.) The need for looking at all the occupations of our modern life from an ethical point of view is informally discussed with special reference to the work of the minister, the doctor, the business man, the teacher and the social worker by one who has had contacts with representatives of these various callings. These chapters furnish most valuable material for ethical preaching at a time when a wide gulf exists between profession and practice.

The Story of the Ten Commandments. By CONRAD H. MOEHLMAN. (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.50.) This interesting historical exposition of the Decalogue takes note of its practical acceptance by Jews, Catholics and Protestants. There has been no unanimity in its interpretation. A great deal of misunderstanding might have been avoided had the summary of Christ been more generally influential. The author's suggested decalogue has in mind the basic requirements of modern life, but, like similar independent formulations, it is too one-sided. The book, however, is a timely contribution to clearer ethical thinking.

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OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

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